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REV M CREIGHTON,

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

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BOOK I

EARLY ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

THE chief things which we have to notice in this part of the History of England are

1 What England was like and who dwelt in it before our forefathers came here and called it England

2 What manner of men our forefathers were, and how they built up the kingdom of England, driving out the folk that dwelt here before them

3 How this kingdom grew so weak that it was conquered by foreign kings

CHAPTER I

THE BRITONS

1 WE do not know much of the first dwellers in England, as no history tells us about them, but from the remains of themselves, their tools and weapons, which are sometimes dug up, we have been able to find out something. They were rather small ugly people, like the Esquimaux, and used flint and

The first
dwellers in
England.

bone arms and tools They lived by hunting and fishing, and some of them were cannibals They dwelt in caves and in earth houses on the banks of the seas and rivers, and it is in caves and the great heaps of shells, which lie near their haunts, that we find remains that tell us about them

In their days England was much colder than it is now, and much wilder A great many wild beasts lived here, such as hyænas, lions, rhinoceroses, and elephants, which have long since disappeared

We do not know when these people came to England, but it must have been a very long while ago

2 The first people we hear about in history as dwelling in England, which they called Britain, were very different

The Britons folk The land in their time, though not so cold and wild as before, was still very unlike the England of to day The greater part of it was covered with thick woods or broad heaths, and where the rivers now run fast there were often great fens and lakes There were still many wild beasts, bears, wolves, and beavers, great elks and wild cattle, though most of those we spoke of before had died out It was hotter in summer and colder in winter than it is now

The people were not English at all, but of the same race as the Irish and Welsh of to day, who are descended from them They were a rude people, but were not savages, like the first folk They lived in wattled huts half sunk in the ground, without windows or chimneys These huts were set together in villages, which had often a wooden paling and earthen wall round them, and were placed in the midst of woods, or on islands in the rivers or marshes, or on hills, so as to be safer against foemen Their wealth was in cattle, and they tilled the ground near their villages, and grew barley They were great hunters, but they did not fish in the sea In the south and west of Britain they worked to find tin and lead,

and sold the metal to the Phœnicians, who were the great merchants of that day and the first civilised folk who knew of Britain. The Britons also used to traffic with their kinsfolk in Gaul. They had horses, which they only used for war, when they drove them in chariots, and they had dogs like large deerhounds, which they used for hunting. The Britons were very clever at all kinds of basket-work, and knew how to make pottery for household use, and large earthenware vessels in which they buried their dead. They did not know how to work iron or copper, but used flint and bone and horn for their weapons and tools. When they could, they bought bronze swords and axes from Gaul. They used also to make jet ornaments.

They were tall, big people, and many of them had blue eyes and light hair. They left their hair long, and the men wore large moustachios, but shaved their beards. The men wore shirts and hose and long cloaks of plaid, and the women kirtles of the same stuff. But when the men went to war they used to throw off their cloaks and rush into battle half-naked, painted blue with the juice of a herb called woad, just as is the habit of some savages now. They fought with long swords and spears and darts. Their shields were of wood covered with hide and strengthened with metal.

3 They were brave in battle, but were never long of one mind, and so their bravery availed them little. They did not live together as a nation, under one Their go-
vernment. rule, as we see the peoples of Europe do now, but they were divided into tribes. Each tribe had its own chief and followed its own customs. These tribes were always at war with each other, and this was one great cause of the misfortunes that fell upon them.

The chiefs and kings of these tribes could not do as they liked. When any great thing was to be done the free men of the tribe were all called together to consider it,

of their foes they followed him to save the standard, and at last made good their landing and drove the Britons up into the country. Then Cæsar marched through most of the land of the people of Kent, fought several battles and forced the tribes near him to give hostages and make peace. But he was not able to profit by his success. He was afraid of the bad weather in the Channel, for it was getting late in the year. So he went back to Gaul.

2 But when Cæsar was gone the Britons did not do as they had promised him, so he came again next summer into Britain with a larger army than before. But the tribes of the South east had united under a brave prince, named Cassivellaunos (whom Cæsar's second coming the Romans called Cassivelaunus), and resisted the invaders very boldly. But the good order of the Romans overcame them at last. After several battles Cassivelaunus' stronghold, Verulam (St Albans), was taken and burnt. The Britons therefore were again forced to make peace. But the Romans, when they found what a poor country Britain was, and that there was no rich plunder and much hard fighting, were not inclined to stay longer. Cæsar, too, had succeeded in frightening the Britons from interfering further with his plans in Gaul. He could not afford to stay himself, as he wanted to keep watch over his new conquests in Gaul, and did not wish to be too far from Rome. So the Romans went back again, and when Cæsar was next in Rome he hung up a corslet of British pearls in the temple of his goddess, Venus, as a memorial of his victories.

After Cæsar left, the Britons were left to themselves for about ninety years. They still kept up their trade with Gaul, which was now a Roman province, and they now coined much money, copying the Greek and Roman money which they saw used in trade, for before they had mostly used metal rings and cattle instead of money.

Once during this time the Roman Emperor Caius, surnamed Caligula, gathered together a large army with which to conquer Britain. He marched as far as the coast of Gaul, facing Britain, but he never crossed the Channel, and the only spoils he brought back to Rome were pebbles and shells from the seashore.

3 In the reign of Claudius, the fourth Roman Emperor, a Roman general was sent with an army of Romans and Gauls. He landed in the south, and after much hard fighting Vectis (the Isle of Wight) was taken, and the whole of South Britain submitted to Claudius, who came over to receive the new conquest. Camulodun (Colchester) was taken and settled with Roman soldiers, and became a Roman town. South Britain was taken under the Roman rule, and was made a province of the Roman empire, as Gaul had been. These Roman provinces were governed by officers sent out by the Emperor.

The conquest of Britain,
A D 43

4 But in the north and midst of Britain, Caradawg, whom the Romans called Caractacus, still held out against the Romans. After fighting bravely he was at last overcome and driven to seek shelter with his mother-in-law, who betrayed him to the Romans, to gain their favour, and he was taken captive to Rome, with his wife and children. When he saw the splendid buildings and all the glory of the great city he said to the Emperor, 'How is it that you who dwell in such grand palaces envy us poor Britons our thatched cots?' And the Emperor, who was pleased with his boldness and bravery, treated him kindly at the prayer of the Empress. Nevertheless, the Silures, though they had lost their great leader, would not yield, and the Roman general is said to have died of grief and rage at not being able to subdue them.

Caractacus.
A D 47

5 Some years after, while Nero was Emperor,

Suetonius Paullinus was appointed Governor in Britain In A D 61 he resolved to go over to Mona (Anglesey), which was a sacred island of the Druids, and subdue it For they had received there many of the Britons who had fled from the Roman conquerors The Druids resisted him stoutly The very women withstood the landing of his troops, and at one time nearly drove them back, frightened at the strange sight and the dreadful noises and the witchcraft of the Druids There were great fires lit along the shore and many women with torches rushing to and fro shrieking, while the Druids called on their gods with loud cries to help their warriors and overthrow their foes At last, however, the Romans landed and took the island, cut down the groves, and slew the Druids, casting them into the fires which they had kindled to burn their captives in This is noteworthy, because the Romans hardly ever tried to destroy or change the faith of any folk whom they conquered They did so in the Druids' case because they saw that if the Druids were allowed to teach their faith and rouse the Britons against them they could never govern the country quietly

While Suetonius was away, the Iceni and their queen, Bodug, whom the Romans called Boadicea, rose against the Romans, who were left nearly defenceless Boadicea was the widow of a king of the Iceni, who had been a friend of the Romans, and had given them some of his possessions But when he died the Romans seized the inheritance of his daughters, and when Boadicea protested she was seized and scourged, and her daughters were treated in the cruellest way All the Britons who had suffered any wrong at the hands of the Romans joined her, and she soon had a great host under her She burnt London and Camulodun (Colchester) and other Roman settlements and slew all living souls therein, both Romans and

Britons who had taken up Roman ways. One Roman general tried to resist her, but he was routed and driven into his camp. Then arose a great panic in all the Roman settlements. All who could fled south before the Britons, and many even crossed to Gaul. But at length news of all that was happening was brought to Suetonius, and he marched back with a large army to fight Boadicea, and came up with her and set his forces in order against her. And Boadicea went through her army, when it was in battle array, in a war-chariot, with her daughters. She wore a helmet on her long fair hair and a gold collar on her neck, and bore war-weapons in her hand, and she prayed her people to fight bravely and avenge her wrongs and their own. But when the battle was joined the Romans, after a hard fight, won the day. For a long time the Britons would not flee and the Romans slew them nearly all on the field; but Boadicea took poison, fearing capture worse than death. With this defeat the revolt ceased, and the province, though fearfully wasted, was at peace. Now when Nero heard of the great revolt and the causes of it he recalled Suetonius and sent out another governor in his room.

6 When Vespasian was Emperor of Rome he sent a very good governor to Britain, Julius Agricola, who had served under Suetonius, fifteen years before. Agricola and Galgacus. A.D. 75-85. He was the father-in-law of Tacitus, the great historian, who wrote his life, from which we learn a great deal about Britain at this time. Agricola won all South Britain for the Romans. And when he found that the Caledonians (as the wild tribes of the North were called) were always harrying the lands of those Britons who had submitted to the Romans he built a line of forts against them across the island, between the Firth and the Clyde, and garrisoned it with soldiers. In the last year of his government he marched north, and fought a battle

with the Caledonians, which he won, though their king, Calgacus, led them very bravely. Soon after this Agricola was recalled to Rome. Seven years he ruled in Britain, and he was not only famous as a general but for his good government. He tried to get the Britons to take up Roman ways and customs, and took great trouble in teaching the sons of the chiefs the Roman language and wisdom. By showing the Britons that good as well as evil was to be got from their Roman rulers he brought them to live peacefully under them. He did not even try to conquer the Caledonians, for their country was very wild and poor, but only wished to make them leave the Roman subjects in peace. Agricola sent his fleet round Britain to survey the coasts and see what the country to the far north was like. From their voyage we have the first accounts of the geography of North Britain.

CHAPTER III

THE ROMAN RULE IN BRITAIN

1 WHEN Hadrianus became Emperor of Rome (A.D. 121) he went round his empire, and put all the borders in a state of defence. When he came to Britain he built a wall from the Tyne to Solway Firth, and made it the boundary of the province. But some years later, when Antoninus was Emperor, the governor of Britain built a wall where Agricola's line of forts were, and got back the land between the walls. Pieces of these two walls remain to this day.

2 Nevertheless the Caledonians, or Picts, as they were now called, were always making raids southward, until the Roman governors took to buying them off. This only made them come the oftener. At last the Emperor himself had to be sent

Hadrianus
and Anto-
ninus walls.
A.D. 121-140.

Severus.
A.D. 210.

for His name was Severus, he was an old man, but very wise and brave. He was too ill to ride, and was borne in a litter at the head of his army. He marched right through North Britain to the Pentland Firth, and though he lost a great part of his army through the bad weather and rough ground and the continual fighting, yet he made the Caledonians beg for peace and took away a great part of their land. When he had had the earthen wall of Hadrianus strengthened with a wall of stone he was carried back to Eboracum (York), the capital of Britain, and there he died.

3 About seventy years after this new foes began to trouble the Romans. These were the Scots, a tribe from the north of Ireland, which they called Scoti. These Scots now ravaged the west and north of Britain.

The Scots
A D 286, the
English,
A.D. 290

The east also of Britain was laid waste by the attacks of the English, whom the Britons called Saxons. This is the first time we hear of Englishmen coming to Britain, though many Germans had been in Britain as soldiers in the Roman armies.

4 The next great man we hear of in Britain was Constantine, who afterwards became Emperor. His mother was a British princess. He was the first Emperor who made the Christian faith the faith of the Roman Empire. He became a Christian himself, and after him all the Emperors save one were Christians. We hear of British Christians before. When there was a persecution in A D 303 it is said that many were put to death in Britain for the faith, for the Emperor believed the Christians to be traitors, and persecuted them. Alban, who was slain at Verulam, is said to have been the first martyr who died in Britain. In after days the great monastery of S Albans arose at Verulam, where he was slain. Now, this bringing in of

Constantine
and Chris-
tianity

THE TRIBES OF BRITAIN

The Romans called all the tribes that dwelt in Britain *Britons*, but they were not all of one race

The SILURES were not akin to the other folks but rather perhaps to the *Baski* who dwell in Spain and the South of France to this day, having been driven into a corner of the land by the invasion of Celtic tribes

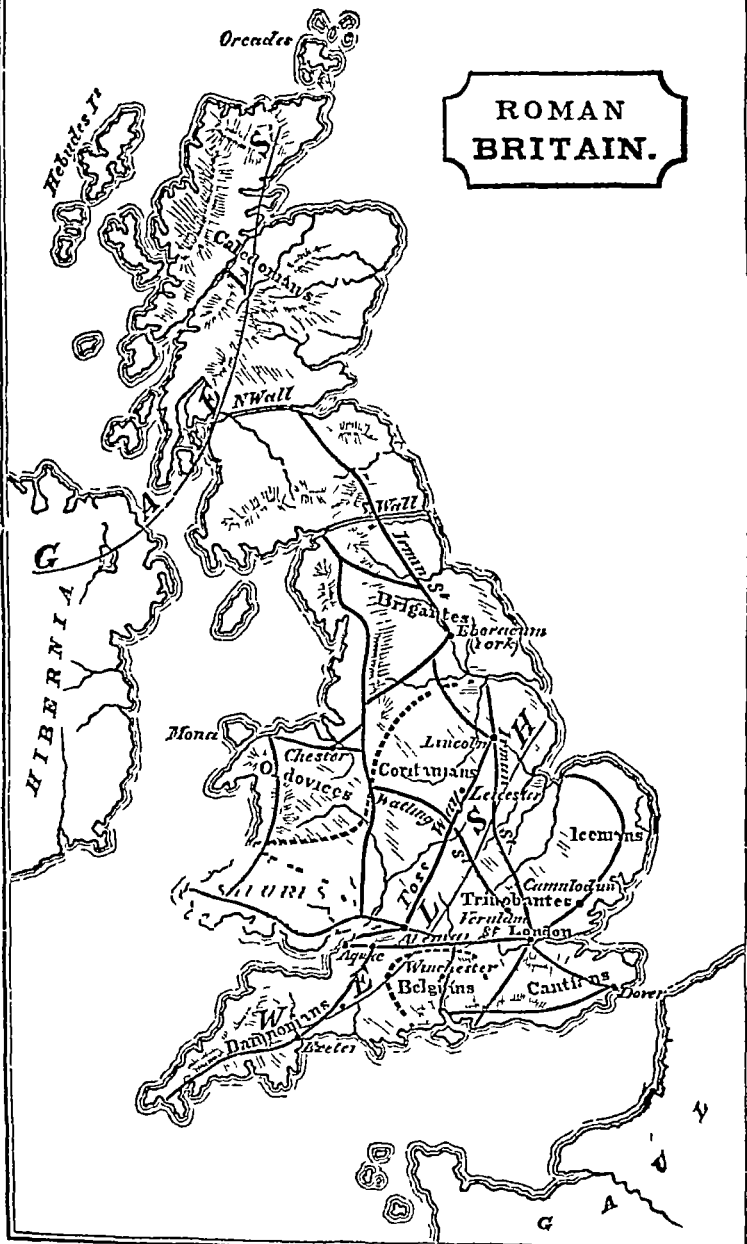
The other tribes were all Keltic Of these some tribes were akin to the Irish and Highlanders of our times These were the *Caledonians* (afterwards called *Picts*)

The *Welsh* or *Kymric* tribes are the same folk as the Welsh people of to day These were the

Brigantes
Ordovices
Coritani
Trinovantes
Icenians
Cantians
Damnonii
Belgians

—— marks the Roman roads
 --- the divisions of the tribes

ROMAN BRITAIN.



Christianity is one of the most important things that the Roman rule did for Britain. Christianity also gave the Roman Empire new strength for a while. Through the conversion of the German tribes, a very different fate befell the Roman Empire and the people under it than would have overtaken them had the Germans been still heathen.

5 After the days of Constantine, in spite of all that the Romans could do, things got worse. At last the Picts and Scots ravaged the whole of Britain as far as London. They were driven out by Theodosius, who got back the country between the walls and called it *Valentia*, in honour of Valentinian, who was then Emperor. And so he gave the land peace for a while.

Soon after this the heart of the Roman Empire was invaded by the German tribes, who at length overthrew it altogether in the West of Europe. And the Emperors could not do much to keep the far-off provinces safe, for they wanted all their troops nearer home. As legion after legion went away the Britons were at last left to themselves. Once or twice a legion was sent back for a while to help them against their heathen foes, but at length no more help could be got. Though the Britons, especially those who lived in the towns and had learned Roman ways, had been weakened by not having had to fight for themselves, yet they levied soldiers after the Roman fashion, and defended themselves very stubbornly for some time. Especially they tried to keep the walls. But what had been their bane before was so again, for the chief men, now again kings, quarrelled among themselves. Many did evil deeds, and some even called in the Picts and Scots against their brethren. At last, it is said Gwerthigern (or Vortigern), who was the greatest king in Britain, resolved to copy the plan the Romans had used.

They had kept off the Germans a long time by playing off one lot of barbarians against another. So he called two English chiefs, brothers—Hengst and Horsa by name—to help him against the Picts and Scots.

6 The Romans had been four hundred years in Britain when they left, and had made great changes in the land. They were great builders and engineers. Besides the camps and walls they had built many walled towns, with houses of brick and stone, and large temples and churches, and theatres and public baths. The villas or country-houses of the great men too were often splendidly decorated. It was through their walls that the towns came off better in the conquest by the English than the rest of the country.

What
changes the
Romans
wrought

The Romans made good roads across the country, running straight from town to town, and it was on these roads that all the traffic of England was carried on and soldiers marched in the wars, till the cutting of canals and the invention of railways. Moreover, if the map of England of to-day is compared with the map of Roman Britain we see that the railways often follow the line of the Roman roads. The Romans also taught the Britons many other arts. They also worked mines of iron and lead and tin, and made fine pottery. So much corn was grown in Britain that it was called the 'Granary of the North'. Much trade also was carried on at London. Horses and big British dogs were sent from Britain all over the Roman Empire.

But still we see that Britain never became quite Roman, as Gaul did. The Britons still kept up their old speech and customs except in the towns, although they learned much from the Romans and had better weapons and tools than before. This is why the Welsh still speak their own tongue, and not a Romance tongue, that is, a tongue learnt from the Romans, as the French and

Spaniards do For the people of Gaul and Spain learned the speech of the Romans, though they changed it in speaking it, according to their own tongues and ways of talking

The population of Britain in the 4th century numbered about 1,000,000, of which 22,000 were Roman troops There were perhaps 20,000 more foreigners, merchant colonists, and officials

BOOK II.

HOW THE ENGLISH WERE ON BRITAIN

A.D. 449-600

CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH

1 WHEN we first hear of the English, they lived in the land along the coast of the North Sea between North Denmark and Holland They belonged to the same race as the Norwegians and Danes, and the German tribes who dwelt to the south of them The English had come to their home on the North Sea from a far land on the other side of the Caucasus

2 They were not a savage people but a nation of yeomen, living each in his own homestead, tilling the ground and keeping cattle They did not dwell in towns, but men of the same kin lived together in little knots of farms They called these villages after the name of the kin that dwelt in it, as Ashingham, the home of the Ashings, or family of Ash

Each village managed its own affairs, but once or twice a-year all the yeomen went up to a great meeting, when the business of the nation was settled This was called the *folk-moot* or meeting of the tribe A group of

ten or twelve villages was called a *hundred*, because in old times it would hold about a hundred households. Every *hundred* had a *hundred-moot* which met three or



four times a year and settled matters that were of small account and only concerned those who lived in that *hundred*. The men of the tribe were either gentle or simple,

corls or *ccorls*, that is, either of noble birth or just simply free men. But though the gentlemen were looked up to they had no power over other free men. There were slaves, too, whom they called *thralls*, who used to work for the free men. They were well treated, especially when they were not foreigners, or men who had lost their freedom through debt or wrong doing, but captives from some tribe akin to them.

There were no kings among the English, but when they went to war they chose leaders whom they swore to obey. Some of their gentlefolk, whom they called elders or *aldermen*, acted as magistrates, and sat in the chief places in their meetings and presided over their affairs. The great men, too, kept many followers about them, who used to guard them and fight for them, to whom they gave rings of gold and silver, and sometimes farms and cattle. Many gentlemen even used to take service with the chiefs to win riches and honour.

3 The English were a very warlike race, and were often fighting against the neighbouring tribes in Ger-
 many and Denmark. They were good seamen
 Their manners. too. In the spring, before the summer field-work came on, and in the autumn, after the harvest was carried, they used to sail out and plunder all round the coasts of the North Sea. It is said that it was while Hengist and Horsa were on one of these voyages that they were asked to help Vortigern against his foes.

When the whole people went to war one free man at least from every household had to go to the meeting-place and fight under the great men who were chosen as war-leaders, and led them to battle, beside their guards.

And when the tribe conquered any land or spoil it was dealt out by lot, a share to every free man, after the share of the gods had been taken. But the chiefs had bigger shares than other men, because they had to reward

their followers, who did not take a lot like the rest, but looked to the chief for their share

The English were very just folks and loved the law. They used to settle many disputes at their meetings, where everyone who was wronged could bring his complaint, which was judged by the people there, and the evildoers were punished. But if a man liked he could always fight against him who had wronged him, or against his kin, and so seek redress for himself by main force. Evildoers were fined, and if they could not pay were put out of the law's protection, and any man who would might slay them without being punished. There was a price fixed for every man's life according to his rank, which, if a man were slain unlawfully, was paid to his kinsfolk by his slayer. This was called the *were-gild*, or price of a man. But those who had slain men secretly and done the worst deeds were hanged or drowned.

Like most of their race the English showed great respect to women, and the housewife had the ordering of the house and the women-servants. The husband might not interfere in those matters, but he ruled in all greater things. The English, too, were kind to their children and treated them as men and women when they were grown up, and did not keep them, as the Romans and Britons kept theirs, in strict obedience all their lives.

4 The free men were well armed with swords and spears of bronze and iron, and shields of linden-wood. The chiefs often had mail-shirts and helmets of bronze or iron, with the image of a wild boar on the top as a crest. For their every day wear they were well clad in linen or woollen raiment, and the rich folk wore red and blue embroidered gowns or tunics, and cloaks clasped with bronze brooches often beautifully wrought, and great gold and silver rings on their arms. They were shod in leather, and wore leathern belts round

Arms and
dress.

their waists with a sheath knife in them, as the Norwegians do now. The ladies sometimes wore a bunch of keys at their wrist. When the free man went from home he used always to bear his sword and shield, and when he rode on horseback he would carry a spear also. The men used to tattoo their arms and breasts with curious patterns, as our sailors often do still. All free men and women wore their hair long and were proud of it, but the thralls' heads were cropped. Married women always wore a hood or veil over their hair.

They were good smiths and carpenters at all kinds of work in metal and wood. The women were clever at all kinds of needlework, and wove beautiful linen. The English built wooden houses, and the chiefs had great halls. They were also good ship-builders, and their large boats, which they called 'keels,' would withstand the fierce storms of the North Sea. They had plenty of horses, and dogs, and cattle, and sheep. They used horses for war and for travelling, but for farm-work oxen.

Though the English worked very hard they were a merry folk, fond of singing and feasting. They were also fond of sports, such as hunting and horse-racing, and took pleasure in gambling and horse fighting.

5 The English had no Druids, like the Britons, but every man was priest in his own household, and the chief was priest for the tribe. In some places they had women priests and soothsayers. Their temples were in the great woods or on lonely islands, or at the meeting-places of the people. Thither they used to bring a great part of their spoil, and burn or bury it in honour of the gods. Sometimes the English offered men in sacrifice to the gods to gain victory or power or long life, but this did not happen often. Sometimes men would even slay themselves, that they might not die in bed, but by the sword, like men slain in battle.

Their gods were Thunder and Hertha, and Tew and Woden and Frey, and the white sun-god Balder. Some of these gods' names we still keep in the days of the week,—as Tuesday and Wednesday, the days of Tew and Woden. In their temples the holy ring was kept, on which men swore oaths to tell the truth at trials, or vowed before they went to battle to fight bravely. These temples were hallowed, and no man dared fight or quarrel in them. The English faith was that if a man did his duty bravely to himself and his family and his tribe, and fought his foes and bore trouble and danger stedfastly without flinching, his soul would dwell with his kinsmen's spirits, passing the day feasting with them in his *barrow* or in the caverns of the hills, and his nights fighting and hunting over the earth. But if a man was cruel or base or cowardly they thought he would dwell with the dark goddess Hell, in cold caverns full of serpents, in the midst of ice and snow.

When a great man died his tribesmen used to raise a pile of firewood on some high place and set his body on it, with his sword in his hand and his helmet on his head and his shield by his side, and his horse under him. Then they slew the horse and burnt its body with its master's. The ashes they put in an urn of earthenware, which they covered round with huge stones. Then they heaped a high mound or *barrow* of earth over it as a mark for ever. Sometimes a man's wife and slaves were slain and buried with him. But some of the English buried their dead without burning them. It is from the graves in England and abroad that we have found out a great deal about our forefathers.

The English knew how to write, but they had no books, and only used writing to mark their weapons and houses and boats and rings and cups with. They wrote also on the great stones which they raised on the grave mounds the name and death of the body that lay below.

6 There were three tribes of Englishmen who came to Britain They all called themselves and their tongue English, but the Welsh and Irish called them all Saxons The first tribe, which dwelt in the north of Denmark and over the south of Sweden were also called Jutes, or Geats, The next, who dwelt in the south of Denmark and in what is now called Slesvik Holsten, called themselves Tribes of English Angles, or English The southernmost tribe, who dwelt in Friesland and Hanover, were called Saxons It was because the Welsh met with them first that they called all Englishmen Saxons Very often peoples have been called by another name than that by which they call themselves, thus the Romans called the Welsh *Britons*, but the Britons called themselves by the names of their tribes, or when they wished to speak of all their race they called themselves *Cymry* But the English called them 'Welsh,' or Strangers, as the Germans now call the Italians 'Welsh' But it is to be kept in mind that they never called themselves by that name

CHAPTER V

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST

1 THE English under their two leaders, Hengist and Horsa (Horse and Mare), agreed to help Vortigern, and they fought for the Welsh, against the Picts, and won several battles But, just as had hap-
 The Jutes
 win Kent
 A.D. 451.
 pened before in other parts of the Roman Empire, the plan of using one foe against another failed The English quarrelled with the Welsh, and sent over sea for more of their kinsfolk, telling them what a good land Britain was, and how badly it was guarded So, many more came over, with their wives and children and cattle They settled first in Thanet island, whence they came over into Kent to conquer it, that they might dwell there

The Welsh fought against them, but the English won. In one of their fights Horsa was slain, and his folk raised a great mound of earth over his burying-place which may still be seen. At last the Welsh fled out of the land of Kent, and the English made two kingdoms there, and set up Hengist and his kin as kings to rule over them.

2 Not long after this a band of Saxons under a leader named Ella landed in the South of Britain, near Regnum (Chichester), and they fought against the Welsh and set up a little kingdom. But the great Roman town Anderida (Pevensey), at the end of the South Downs, long held out against them, but they took it at last and slew every soul within it and made it a waste (A D 491). This kingdom of Ella was afterwards called the kingdom of the South Saxons or Sussex.

The Saxons
of Sussex
A D 477

3 Another band of Saxons landed at Portsmouth and fought against the Welsh, and took the city of Winchester, and made the kingdom of the West Saxons, or Wessex, in the land that is now called Hampshire. And they set their leader Cerdic as king over them, of whose blood nearly all the kings that ruled over all England have come.

The Saxons
of Wessex
A D 495

So the South of Britain was conquered, and from Wessex there afterwards went out bands of settlers to the west and north, and drove out the Welsh and founded Dorset and Wiltset. Their leaders obeyed the king of Wessex. But these settlers did not win their way easily, and it was not till 577 that the West Saxons got to the Bristol Channel. In that year their king Ceawlin won a battle at Dyrham and got Bath city. He founded Somerset, and cut off the Welsh of Cornwall from their kinsfolk the Welsh of Wales. About the same time the West Saxons conquered the valley of the Severn, and sat down in the lands which are now called Herefordshire and Worcestershire.

4. In 547 the Angles, who had for some time been trying to settle in Britain, began to build up three kingdoms along the east coast. One, called Bernicia, the 'land of the Braes,' stretched from the north of what we call Yorkshire to the Firth of Forth, and from the coast of the North Sea to the vale of Clyde and the hills of Cumberland. The second, Deira, 'the South land,' spread from the south of Bernicia to the Humber, and ran back to the Pennine Hills. These were called North English or Northumbrian kingdoms. The third great kingdom, which they called East Anglia, or East England, lay further south. It had two divisions—the North folks' and South folks' lands (Norfolk and Suffolk).

5. Two other Saxon bands came up the Thames in their ships and made the two kingdoms of Essex and Middlesex the East Saxons (Essex) and the Middle Saxons (Middlesex), of which the two chief towns were the old Roman cities of Colchester and London.

6. Still fresh bands of English came to Britain, and when they found all the land to the east and south taken, they went on past the Eastern kingdom into Marchland, or Mercia, the middle of Britain. Little by little they won it all from the Welsh as far as the Severn valley, and they called their kingdom Middle England, but the other folk called it the March, or border land, because they dwelt next the Welsh. And when they grew strong they took the Saxons who dwelt in the Severn Valley into their rule. Their chief city was Leicester.

The English also made settlements in Gaul as well as in Britain, and many villages round Bayeux and Calais still keep their old English names. But of the history of these English we do not know much.

Now, these conquests took a very long time—over 150 years. For the Welsh, divided among themselves as they

were, yet resisted the English very stubbornly, and still held a great part of Britain

7 The Welsh had three kingdoms in the west of the island 1 Cumberland, or the Clyde Valley 2 The Welsh kingdom, from the Clyde to the Mersey 3 West Wales, that is Wales, or Cambria 3 West Wales, that is Devon and Cornwall

But their chief power lay in the Clyde Valley, in the North, between the Walls There the great king Arthur is said to have gathered a band of brave warriors and to have fought many battles against the English But after his death (520) the English could not be checked any longer, and the Welsh had hard work to hold their own in the west They lost, too, all the land they still held in the east, round Elmet and Leeds, which was added to Mercia and Northumberland

The English never went beyond the North Wall, but about 550 there came Scots from the North of Ireland into Caledonia and took all the West lands and settled in them For many years there was war between the Scots and Picts At last the Picts were forced to take a Scottish king, and Caledonia was called Scotland

8 The towns which the Romans had walled and fortified held out longer than the country Though many of them were taken and destroyed, yet some remained and became the chief towns of the English kingdoms But it was long before many English folk dwelt in towns, for they still liked farm life best and loved to dwell in the country

The manner
of the
conquest

When the English came over to Britain they brought with them their wives and children and all their goods and cattle When they won the land they parcelled it out into groups of farms such as they had in their own country

Now, as the English were always fighting in their new land, they wanted war leaders to be always ready to lead

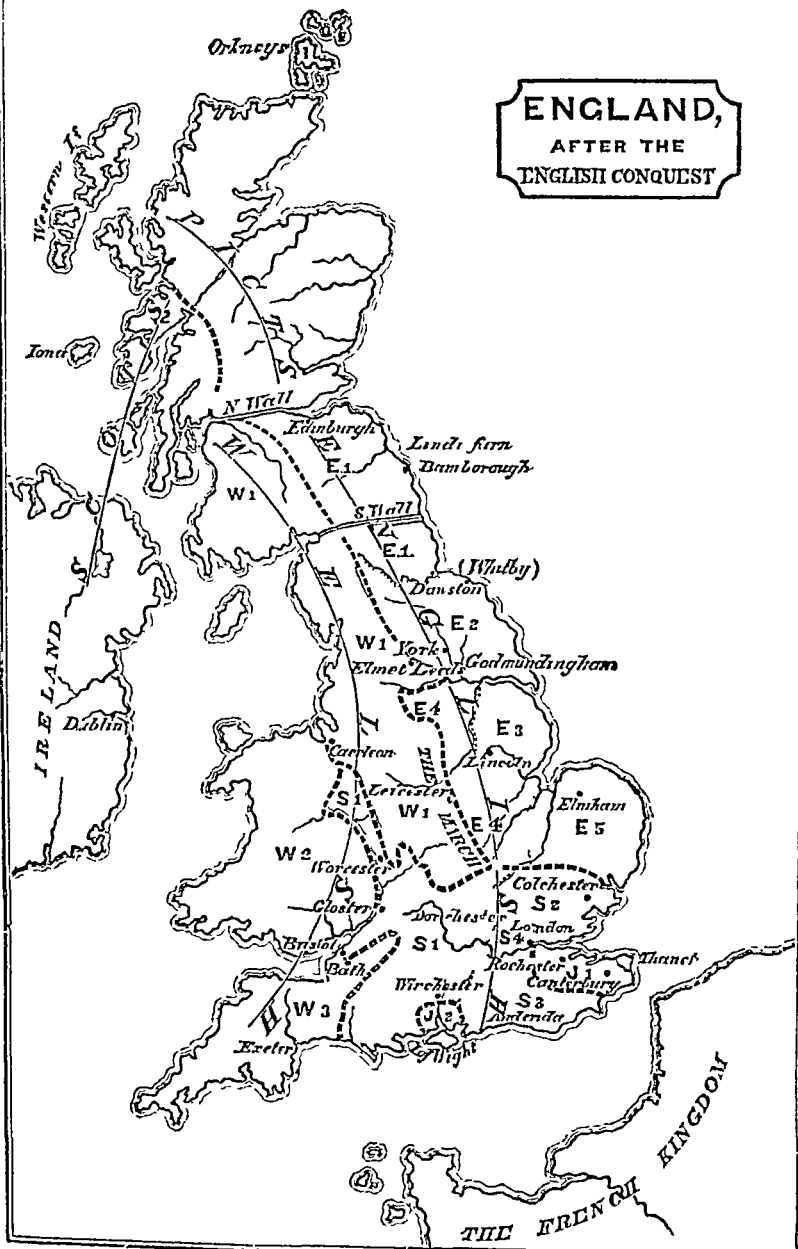
The three KEI TIC peoples —

*Picts**Scots* (from Ireland)*Welsh*W 1 Kingdom of *Cumberland*, or Clyde ValleyW 2 Kingdom of *Wales*W 3 *West Wales* (Devon and Cornwall)

The ENGLISH Kingdoms —

The *Jutes*J 1 Kingdom of *Kent*J 2 Kingdom of *Isle of Wight*The *Saxons*S 1 *West Saxon* Kingdom, or *Wessex*S 2 *East Saxon* Kingdom, or *Essex*S 3 *South Saxon* Kingdom or *Sussex*S 4 *Middle Saxon* Kingdom, or *Middlesex*The *English* or *Angles*E 1 *Bernicia*, the Kingdom of 'the Braes'E 2 *Dara*, the Kingdom of the 'South'
(These two made up *Northumberland*)E 3 The Kingdom of *Lincoln*E 4. The *Middle English* Kingdom, *Mercia* or the
Marchland, that is land of 'the Border'E 5. The *East English* Kingdom

ENGLAND, AFTER THE ENGLISH CONQUEST



them. So they made their aldermen into kings and gave them more power than they had had before, but the English who abode at home across the seas never had any kings at all.

One cause why the fighting was so fierce was that the English were still heathen, and hated the Christian Welsh and burnt their churches and slew their priests wherever they could. So the Welsh and English never were at peace, but nearly all the Welsh in the east were slain or driven into the west, save a few that were made slaves.

CHAPTER VI

CONVERSION OF KENT

1 IN the year 597 a great thing happened in England—the coming of Christian priests from Rome into Kent, Welsh missionaries to preach the Gospel to the English. For the English would never learn the Christian faith from the Welsh, though the Welsh had been great missionaries to other folks. St Patrick, a man from the Clyde, had gone to Ireland, and the Irish had gladly taken the faith. St Ninian had preached to the Picts in the far North. Welsh and Irish preachers went even into Gaul and Germany, for the Irish wished to spread the Gospel which they had received, and it was through them that the Picts were at last turned to the faith.

2 The English became Christians in another way. There was a king of Kent whose name was Ethelbert and he took to wife Bertha, the daughter of the Frankish

king of Paris, in Gaul She brought in her train to England a bishop, for her husband had promised that she should keep her own way of belief She Pope Gregory and England built up a little church that had been ruined, and used to worship there, but none of the English would leave their old faith Then came a company of Christian monks from Rome, and at their head one called Augustine They were sent by Pope Gregory I, and there is a story told of the way by which he came to take such care for the souls of the heathen English Before he was Pope, about 574, he saw one day for sale in the market of Rome some beautiful children with fair skin and yellow hair, for the Romans kept slaves, and though the English had very few slaves themselves, yet they sometimes sold people abroad into slavery When Gregory saw the children he was astonished at their beauty, and asked the dealer who they were He said they were heathen Angles, or English, from Britain, and Gregory answered, 'They should be angels, they are so fair' Then he asked who was their king, and the man said 'Ella,' and Gregory said, 'Alleluia should be the song of those Angles, as it is of the angels in heaven' And he became very sorrowful for pity that such fair folk should dwell in the darkness of sin, and he went to the Pope and prayed him to let him go to England and preach to the English The Pope gave him leave, but the people of Rome would not let him go, for he was much beloved But when he became Pope, in 590, he was mindful of the English heathen, and he sent his friend Augustine to England, because he could not now go himself

3 Augustine came to king Ethelbert and begged him to hearken to his Gospel The queen was glad of his coming, and the king and his people hearkened to the words of the monks, and in time Augustine
A D 597 were baptized Augustine crossed to Gaul to be made a

bishop, that he might govern the Church in Kent. He built up again an old church in Canterbury, the chief town of Kent, and called it Christ Church, and made it his cathedral, and he built an abbey also, and set monks therein. He laboured very hard to spread the Gospel all over England, and Ethelbert helped him much, for he was a mighty king, and the other kings of the English looked up to him and were glad to win his favour.

4. Once Augustine went to the West to meet the Welsh bishops, to try and get them to help him.

Augustine and the Welsh priests They met under a great oak, at a place now called Aust, after the name of Augustine, but the Welsh and Roman priests could not agree in every point, for though they both held the same faith yet in small matters they differed. So this meeting came to nothing, and Augustine was very angry with the Welsh because they would not join him in his work. He went on all his life's day trying to make the English Christians, and men called him 'the Apostle of the English.'

But though the Kentish men and the kings of East Anglia and Essex were Christian yet the rest of England was still heathen, and it was not till the great Northern kingdom was converted that the success of the Christian faith was certain.

CHAPTER VII

NORTHUMBERLAND

1. We see England was made up of seven little kingdoms, and it was the same with the Northmen and Danes at this time. But little by little in England, as in Denmark and Norway, one kingdom got power over the others and joined them to itself. For a long time it was not certain which of the little kingdoms would be the one to rule at last. In England Northumberland was the first that tried to

Rise of Northumberland

become the chief, and it was really so for a while. Afterwards the Marchland, and at last the West Saxon kingdom, as will be seen, brought about what the others had tried in vain to do.

First the rise of Northumberland to power must be told, and it will be seen that this is mixed up greatly with the change of faith that took place in the North.

Perhaps Northumberland rose first because it was the biggest kingdom. Perhaps too the fact that the chief seat of the Roman power had been at York had something to do with it. There was much good land lying together in the North which many men might till.

2. Howbeit there reigned in 593 a king in Northumberland, named Ethelfrith, a very mighty man. In his days all the other kings feared Northumberland and did its king's will, save Ethelbert, king of the Kentishmen. Ethelfrith fought against the Scots, who had come with a host into his kingdom, and beat them. They were so discomfited that for many years after they dared not attack the English. This battle was at Dawston, in the North.

Ethelfrith.
A.D. 593-
617

In 607 Ethelfrith went down into the Welsh country and fought a great battle near Chester, and the Welsh fled before his face. In that battle were slain many monks who had come to pray that the Welsh might win the day. Ethelfrith said that although they had not fought, they had done as much to defeat him by their prayers as the fighting men with their swords and spears, and he gave orders to slay them. And men said that the words of Augustine were fulfilled when he prophesied evil on the Welsh priests at Aust, because they would not help him in his good work. By this battle Ethelfrith pushed his kingdom to the Western Sea, and cut off Cumberland from the kingdoms of Wales so that they were never joined again just as Dyrham battle had cut

off Cornwall from the Welsh kingdoms and brought the West Saxons to the British Channel. And now Ethelfrith was still more feared than before. But Redwald, king of the East English, would not give up Edwin to Ethelfrith, his kinsman, who had outlawed him. So Ethelfrith came against him, and the battle was joined on the banks of the river Idle, and there Ethelfrith fell.

3 Then the outlaw Edwin was made king of Northumberland, and of him many famous stories are told. Edwin A D 617-633 He became even mightier than Ethelfrith, and though he did not rule over the king of Kent yet he bade him give him his sister in marriage, and he did so. This, most likely, Edwin did that he might not be stopped in his plans by the men of Kent, now that he and their king were kinsmen. And Edwin sent ships from Chester to fight against the Welsh in Anglesey and Môn, and in the North he built a new city on a hill and called it Edwin's borough (Edinburgh), after his name. And he had a plume of feathers borne before him when he went abroad, after the fashion of the Roman emperor, and was called *Brytenwolda*, which seems to mean 'wide ruler,' and so to be the same sort of name as Emperor. But the West Saxons hated him, and Cwichelm, their king, sent a servant of his named Eomer with a message of peace to Edwin, but he meant evil. And when Eomer came before the king he suddenly drew a dagger and struck at him. When Lilla, one of Edwin's men, saw him lift his hand he threw himself before the king to shield him, and the blade passed right through Lilla's body, so hard was the blow, and wounded the king. Then the king's followers fell on Eomer and slew him in their wrath, but the king was little hurt, owing to the faithfulness of Lilla.

4. Now Edwin's Kentish wife, Ethelburg, had brought with her a comrade of Augustine's named Paullinus.

The very night the king was stabbed, the queen bare a daughter, who was baptized by Paullinus. She was the first Christian child in Northumberland, for the king and his folk were still heathen. But the words of Paullinus and the queen moved the king and he became a Christian and his people with him, so that Paullinus was many days baptizing them from morning to night, so many flocked to him desiring to be saved.

Paullinus
converts
Northum-
berland
A D 627

Two stories are told of the reasons which moved Edwin's chief men to become Christians.

One of the aldermen, an old and wise man, while the king and his chiefs were talking about the new faith, spoke, and said, 'O King, the life of man which we know on this earth, if we set it by that life which we know not of, seems to me even thus. When you are sitting at meal-tide with your lords in the winter-time, with a great fire lit in the midst of the hall—so that it is warm and bright within, but out of doors the blasts of cold sleet or snow are raging on all sides—sometimes then a sparrow will fly very swiftly through the hall, coming in at one door and going out at the other. While it is in the hall it is at peace and unhurt by the winter storm for a little space, but it flies out again straightway into the cold gloom whence it came, and your eyes behold it no more. So we see for a space the life of man on earth, but what shall follow after or what hath gone before we know not at all. Therefore, if this new teaching can tell us aught of this, we ought methinks to hearken thereto.'

There was also a priest of the temple at Godmunningham whose name was Coifi. When he heard the words of Paullinus he said to Edwin, 'O King, no man hath served the gods more faithfully than I, seeking the truth, but ever the less I found it. Wherefore, since the gods cannot help us, let us burn their temples and cast

down their altars. Then he prayed the king to give him a horse and lance, and he arose and took them and rode to the temple and flung the lance over the pile of the temple, where no weapon might come. And the people thought that he was mad, and marvelled, thinking that the gods would surely slay him. But he bade them break down the temple and burn the gods. And when they saw that he got no harm they did so, and believed no more in the old gods.

5 Now there was a king in Marchland, or Mercia, named Penda. He and his folk were heathen, and he warred against Edwin. And because Edwin was strong Penda made peace with the king of the Welsh, Cadwalla, and though Cadwalla was a Christian he joined him for hatred of the English. These two kings fought against Edwin and slew him at Heathfield (Hatfield), in the North. When Edwin fell his people forsook the faith and went back to their old gods, and Paullinus and Ethelburg fled to Kent, and many with them.

6 But Penda became a mighty king, and he joined to his kingdom the Saxons who dwelt on the Severn. But while he was fighting in the South, Oswald, the new king of Northumberland, fought against Cadwalla and slew him (635), and cleared the North lands of his foes. He was a Christian, but he had not learnt the Christian faith from the Roman priests, but from the Irish missionaries in Iona, whither he had been driven in Edwin's time because he was the son of Ethelfrith. When he came to the kingdom he brought in Irish priests to teach his people anew the faith they had forsaken. The chief of these priests was Aidan, and Oswald went about with him and put his words into English for the people, and they soon became Christians again. And from Northumberland there went forth preachers to the rest of England and taught the Gospel.

Edwin's
defeat and
death

A. D. 633

Penda and
Oswald.

A. D. 633 642

to many In Mercia they did much good. In East England an Irish monk named Fursey preached, for there, too, the people had gone back to their old gods Even in Kent, at Ethelbert's death, his son became a heathen , but before he died he turned Christian again, and tried to get all his people to believe.

After seven years Penda came North again, and Oswald fell in battle against him (642) Then Penda wrought great ill, and ravaged the land and slew the people

7 At last Oswy took the kingdom, and gathered his folk to him and went to meet Penda. Before the battle he offered him much gold to make peace, for ^{Oswy} he was sore in dread of him But Penda ^{A.D 642 670.} mocked him Then Oswy vowed to make his daughter a nun, and to give twelve estates to the Church if he won the day And when the fight began the Marchmen fled before the Northumbrians, and Penda fell as he fled over the river which ran by the place of battle So the last great heathen king died, and Oswy sent lords to govern his land But after a little the Marchmen drove them out, setting up Wolfere, a Christian son of Penda, as king

8 Moreover, in Oswy's reign, the Christians all over England were set at one amongst themselves This happened in this way A priest named Birinus, ^{Synod of Whitby} who was sent to England by the Pope, had converted Cwichelm, the king who had sought to ^{A.D 644} have Edwin slain, and he set up a bishopric at Dorchester So Wessex also believed And when Penda died S Chad was sent by Aidan in 655 to Mercia, and he turned the Mercians to the Christian faith, and his church was at Lichfield. Only the South Saxons were still heathen But some of the English had been converted by the Irish, as Mercia, Essex, and Northumberland, and the others by the Roman priests Now the Irish, like the Welsh priests, differed in many customs from the Roman priests.

But though Oswy held to the Irish customs he had wed the daughter of Edwin, who had been brought up in Kent under the Roman customs. So Oswy called a great meeting of all the bishops and chief priests to settle which customs should be followed throughout England. Among others there came Wilfrith, a Northern man by birth, and he persuaded the king to take the Roman customs, and all the people agreed. But Colman, the bishop of Holy Island, when the meeting had given their votes against his wishes went away with many of his brethren and left Northumberland. So the king asked the Roman priests to send him, in their stead, teachers to order the churches in his kingdom. But the new bishop the king had made soon died, and Oswy sent another priest to Rome to be made bishop, and there he died. So the Pope sent him a priest of Tarsus, named Theodore, who went to England in 668, and with the help of Wilfrith set the Church in order. He set bishops in each kingdom, who were under the chief bishops (archbishops) of York and Canterbury. He also set priests in each district, as far as he could, to dwell among the people. Theodore worked so hard and so well that when he died he left the Church in England ordered in the sort of way that it ever afterwards kept to.

9 Though many of the Irish priests and their disciples had departed some still remained. Of these the chief was Cuthbert, who had been a missionary in Bernicia. After the Synod of Whitby, he went to the islands on the coast and continued there steadfast in good works, so that he was counted a saint.

At Whitby, Hild, a lady of royal blood, built a convent, and it became a holy place, and the kings of the North were buried there. To Hild it was that Oswy had sent his daughter when he fulfilled his vow. Near Whitby lived Cædmon the poet, of whom this story is told. He

was but a poor cowherd, and knew not how to sing or play the harp or make verses, as men were used to do at feasts. And when it was his turn to sing at a feast he would leave the room, because he was ashamed of his little knowledge. Once when he had thus gone sorrowful to the cattle-shed, where he slept, he had a dream. When he woke he went to Hild, the abbess, and told her that he had been bidden in a vision to sing of holy things, and that he had been given the power of song. Then Hild told him a Gospel story, and he put it into verse and sung it, and all were astonished at the beautiful songs that he sung. And he became a great poet. He put the stories out of the Bible into verse, so that the men who could not read might remember them, and we have some of his verses still.

10 Wolfere, the son of Penda, ruled very well and wisely, and he joined Essex and Middlesex and all the land as far as the Thames to his kingdom. Wolfere
The South Saxon king too obeyed his will, and A. D 657-675
was often at his court, and he gave him the island of Wight to rule under him. In his reign many abbeys and houses of monks were founded, and he built Peterburgh, one of the most famous abbeys in England. Crowland Abbey, too, was built about this time. The West Saxons at this time had a brave king also, under whom they fought many battles against the Welsh in the West, and won nearly all the land by the Mendip Hills and on the Parret.

11 When Oswy died Egfrith took the kingdom. Soon after Wilfrith was banished. Then he went to Sussex and taught the people, for though their king Egfrith.
was Christian, they were still heathen. They A. D 670-85
listened gladly to him, for he was very wise as well as good, and taught them many useful things, amongst others how to fish in the deep sea after the Northern

fashion, for before they only used to fish in the rivers
And men called Wilfrith the Apostle of Sussex

Egfrith and Wolfere were not very good friends, for
Wolfere wished to become free from the overlordship of
Northumberland They warred against each other, and
Egfrith put Wolfere's host to flight, and made him make
peace and give up Lincoln and the land round it

When he had made peace with the Marchmen he
warred against the Welsh in Cumberland, and took Car-
lisle, and over it he set S Cuthbert, whom he called from
his cell in Northumberland Moreover, he made himself
overlord of the Vale of the Clyde, and sent ships also to
ravage Ireland, where they got great spoil At last he
went against the Picts, beyond the North Wall, and there
he fell, with all his host, in a great battle near Fife (685)
And S Cuthbert fell ill when he heard the news and went
back to his cell, where he died two years after

When Egfrith was dead the power passed from Nor-
thumberland, and Wessex and Mercia became great in
its stead

12 There are several things to notice in this part of
English History —

(1) It is hard to see why, when the greater part of
England had been converted by the Irish, all
the English took up the Roman customs in
Church matters But the Romans certainly
kept the Church in better order than the Irish Moreover,
the rest of Western Europe had taken the Roman custom
Kent, too, which was a strong kingdom, and had many
dealings with the Franks helped the Romans very much

(2) We see that the English were not made Christians
by force, as many heathen nations were, but they were
persuaded by the teaching of the Gospel This made
them love the Faith more, and keep it more steadfastly
afterwards, though they wavered a little at first

Northum-
berland and
the Church

(3) Though neither Northumberland nor Kent was ever strong enough to bring all England into one, yet it was a help towards this that all the English became of one faith and one rule. The Church also tried to stop cruel war and draw all men together peacefully.

(4) When the English became Christians they did not kill or enslave the Welsh as they had done before, but when they conquered them they suffered them to remain among them, and made laws to protect them. So, though in the rest of England the Welsh names of places are nearly all lost, those parts of England which the English won after their conversion are still called by Welsh names.

(5) When the English became Christians, they learnt from the Irish and Roman missionaries many useful arts which they had not known before. They also mixed more in trade with the other Christian nations, who had hitherto disliked the fellowship of heathen men.

BOOK IV

WESSEX AND THE MARCHLAND

CHAPTER I

A D 685-728

THE RISE OF WESSEX

I AFTER the death of Egfrith the strongest of the three great kingdoms was Wessex, which was under Ceadwalla. His forerunners had beaten back the Welsh, and had won new lands for the West Saxons, till their realm reached the borders of Devon. Under them Wessex had become so great a kingdom, that it was able, as time went on, to gain the overlordship of all England.

*The rise of
Wessex*

2 Ceardwalla reigned but a short while, then he repented him of his sins, laid down his crown, and went to Rome. There he was baptized by the Pope, and there soon afterwards he died. He had been a Christian and so had his brother who reigned with him, but he had not been baptized before, nor did he seem to understand the life of a true Christian. For when he found that the Jutes in the Isle of Wight were still most of them heathen he fought against them to make them Christians. And he prevailed against them and took their king and slew him, with all his kin and most of his people. When Wilfrith heard of it he begged him to spare some of them, and he did so, and Wilfrith by kindness converted them. But Ceardwalla would not spare the lives of the Jute king's two children, for he feared that when they were grown up they would avenge their father's death upon him, so when they were baptized he slew them also. Perhaps it was for this evil deed that he was sorry, and so left his kingdom. This was the only time that an English king ever tried to turn people to the Gospel by the sword, though in other lands there were kings who did so, not knowing that they were doing an evil work.

3 But Ina, who reigned after him, was a good man and mild of heart, and a very mighty king. He was obliged to wage many wars. Especially he fought with the Cornish men, who had then a brave king at their head, who tried to drive the English back. But Ina prevailed against him.

Ina took great care to rule well the lands that he won. When he saw that the bishop of Winchester had too great a charge, he set up a bishop in Sherborne to help him. And he built a house for holy men at Glastonbury, where there was a ruined British church, and this house became very famous in after days.

Ini fought too with the men of Kent, and got from them a fine for slaying Ceadwalla's brother, whom they had burnt in his house. And he made the men of Essex and the East English bow to his rule. But the king of the Marchmen fought against him, so that he was not able to become overlord of that land also.

And Ini made good laws with the help of the wise men of his kingdom, so that his people might dwell in peace, and in all that he did his wife Ethelburg helped him. She was a wise and brave woman, and once when the Cornish men had taken Taunton, which Ini had built, she went down with a host against them and took back the town. When they had both reigned long and gloriously she won over her husband to lay down his crown, as Ceadwalla had done, and go to Rome, to live there in peace, praying and doing good works till they both died. There is a story told of the way she did this. In those days the kings' palaces were not all garnished with furniture, but when the kings went from one of their great houses to another they took all their household goods with them, and left the house empty behind them. For they used to travel all over their realm, and stay awhile at each of their houses to do justice to the folk of each part of their kingdom and hear all complaints. One day when king Ini had left one of his houses, and his servants had packed up all the household goods, the queen prayed him after a while to ride back to the hall with her, and he did so. When they came there the house was bare, and cattle and pigs had been driven into the empty hall. And the king was astonished at the changes since the day before, when the hall was fairly decked out, and he and all his valiant men had sat there at meat in great state. Then the queen said to him, 'After this manner the glory and pleasant things of this world pass away, so that I hold

him foolish who cleaves to the things of this world and takes no thought of the life everlasting And we, who fare gloriously in this world, should not forget the world that is to come' And the king was won by her words to do as she wished

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH

1 IN the days of Ina there went forth from England many good men to preach the Gospel to the heathen Germans and Frisians For just as the Irish, Mission
aries. when they had heard the Gospel wished that all men would hearken to it, and sent many missionaries to the heathen in Germany and the land we now call Switzerland, so the English did in their turn And they were the more moved to do this because the Germans were near of kin to themselves Wilfrith, when he was erst on the coast of the North Sea, had preached the Gospel to the Frisians and the Saxons who had stayed behind when their brethren went to England Chief amongst the English missionaries were Willebrord and Winfrith (who in the Latin tongue is called Boniface) When Boniface had converted the Germans in their own land, set bishops over them, and put priests among them in their villages, as Theodore had done in England, he was made their first archbishop, and lived at Mainz, on the Rhine, in their midst, and did much good But after nearly forty years' work, when he heard that many of the Frisians were still heathen, he set out to visit them and preach to them also, and soon after he died (757) And men numbered him among the saints, and called him the Apostle of the Germans

2 In England also there were many great Churchmen in those days, and chiefly in Northumberland, where at

this time there was peace for a short while One called Benedict taught the English how to build fair churches of stone, for the English before used to build chiefly with wood, and were not skilled in stonework He also brought over glass for the church windows, which the English did not know of before, but used horn and parchment instead And he built houses for monks to dwell in to do good works, and in one of these, at Jarrow, lived Bede, the first great English scholar He was learned in all the wisdom of the time, and taught many disciples and wrote many books of those things which he wished them to know, some in English, and some in Latin, he wrote songs and hymns also And it is from one of his books, 'A History of the English Church,' that we learn much about the Early English He put the Gospel of S John into English that all men might read it, this was his last work When he died (743) all the wise men in England mourned for him He had many friends who helped him in his work, and the king of Northumberland was among them And the good king A'fred, many years after, put some of his Latin books into English, so useful did he think them for all men to know Of other English Churchmen, Wilfrith was perhaps the greatest He had made the first library in England at York He was also much beloved, though he was quick of temper, for he did many good deeds and was never idle, but always would be doing what he could to help the people and preach the Gospel He was a great traveller, and had seen many lands, and everywhere he went men honoured him for his goodness He died 709

The
Churchmen
of the
North.

3 In Ireland too at this time were many good and wise men, and it was from the Irish that the Northumberland men had got much of their learning For this reason Ireland was called the 'Isle of Saints'

Irish
Churchmen.

CHAPTER X

WESSEX AND THE MARCHLAND

1 AFTER Ine, there reigned other kings over the West Saxons, of whom it is not needful to speak here. They were not very powerful, and in their days Ethelbald, king of the Marchmen, was the mightiest man in England.

But of one of these kings, whose name was Sebert, it is to be noted that he reigned ill and so lost his kingdom. For his folk, who had chosen him to be king, took his crown from him and gave it to Cynwulf.

2 Cynwulf was a brave king and ruled well. He overcame Ethelbald in battle and slew him. But Ofa, who reigned next in the Marchland, forced Cynwulf to bow to him and do his will. Cynwulf was slain after a long reign, and his death happened in this way. One day he went to stay at the house of a lady at Merton, and took few men with him. And when Cynhard, brother of Sebert who wished to be king himself, heard of it he gathered together a band of those men that hated Cynwulf and loved him, and suddenly beset the house where Cynwulf was. When Cynwulf was aware of them he went out to the door and kept it bravely with his sword, and he wounded Cynhard, but he was borne down by Cynhard's men, for he was alone, and slain. And when his men heard the cries of the lady they ran up and found their king dead, and Cynhard standing by. He offered them gold rings and lands and goods if they would follow him and help him to be king, and death if they would not. They chose death, for they would never help their master's slayer. So Cynhard and

his men fell upon them, and they fought till they were all slain save one, a Welshman, a hostage, and he was badly wounded. Then Cynhard locked the gates and kept the hall fast that night. But news was brought to Osric, Cynwulf's alderman, that Cynhard had slain the king, and was at Merton, and some of his own kinsfolk with him. So he gathered all the men he could and rode to Merton in haste, and there he found the gates shut. Cynhard offered him and those with him to be their king, but they would not, though Osric's kinsmen, who were with Cynhard, prayed him to listen to him. And Osric offered his kinsmen peace if they would leave Cynhard, but they said they would stand by Cynhard to the death, as Cynwulf's men had done by him. Then Osric and his folk broke down the gates and fell upon Cynhard and his folk, and they fell there fighting to the last, and only one was saved, Osric's godson.

And Bertric was chosen king by the Wise Men of the kingdom, and he reigned seventeen years (786-802).

3 When Ethelbald fell Bernred took the March kingdom. He reigned but a short while, for Offa, who was of the royal blood, and alderman in the Severn valley, drove him out and took the crown. He had the most power of any man that had yet been in England, for all the other kings bowed to his rule, and now England was as one for the first time. Offa led his host against the Welsh and took one of their chief towns. He called it Shrewsbury, and made it strong against them. And he drew a great dyke across Wales, from the Dee to the Wye, that it might be a bulwark and a boundary after the fashion of the two Roman walls. He married one of his daughters, Edburg, to Bertric, and another to the king of Northumberland, that they might be the more easily ready to do his will. Now, Edburg, who married Bertric, was an evil woman,

Offa of the
Marchland
A D 757-96

and she hated those whom her husband loved, for she wished him to listen only to her. She put poison in a cup for a friend of the king to drink, and by chance Bertic drank of it also, and they both died. When this was known the West Saxons drove out Edburg, and made a law that no other king's wife should have power or be called queen. As for Edburg she went to the court of Charles the Great, and he gave her an abbey to rule, but she ruled it as ill as she had ruled the West Saxons, so he took it from her. And she went to Italy and wandered about in great need there, begging her bread till she died.

At this time Charles the Great was the king of the Franks, and was the mightiest man in West Europe. He and Offa were friends at first, but afterwards they fell out because Charles was jealous of Offa's power and would always help Offa's foes, for he wished to be overlord in England himself. Egbert also, who fled from Bertic—for he was of the royal blood of the West Saxon kings—was received at his court, and there learned many things which were afterwards of use to him.

And when Offa and the men of Kent quarrelled, Charles stirred up the Archbishop of Canterbury against Offa, and promised to help him with soldiers. But Offa put down the men of Kent and set up an archbishop at Lichfield to rule over the Marchmen's Church, as the archbishop of Canterbury ruled over the Church in Wessex, and the archbishop of York in Northumberland. But the archbishop of Canterbury was sorely grieved at this.

But Charles and Offa were made friends once or twice by Alwin or Alcwin, a scholar of Northumberland, whom Offa had sent to Charles to teach him the learning of the English.

In Offa's days there lived in England a great poet

named Cynwolf, some of whose songs we have now We have, too, other poems written about this time by men whose names are lost So it would seem that in Offa's days men found peace and leisure for writing and making poetry, which they had not again till long after his death

Offa ruled his land very well, and cared much for the good of his people, and made laws for them by the help of his wise men, as Ina had done He was good to men of learning and Churchmen, and built a great abbey at Verulam, where S Alban was slain in the Roman time, and the town is called S Albans to this day But one abbey he built because of an evil thing he did He slew Ethelbert, king of the East English, by craft, for he asked him to come and see him and marry his daughter, and when he came he had him murdered, but men say that the queen persuaded him to do this evil And Ethelbert was held a saint and martyr for his cruel death But Offa repented sorely afterwards, and sent gifts to the Pope Soon after this he died, and his son Cenwolf ruled after him He made friends with the archbishop of Canterbury, and when the archbishop of Lichfield died he never made another He fought with the Welsh, and went far into Wales, both North and South, after his enemies He also fought with the men of Kent But after his days Egbert became king of Wessex, and brought the Marchland into his own kingdom, and those kings who reigned there after Cenwolf he drove away

CHAPTER XI

EGBERT

1 EGBERT came to the throne of Wessex in 802, and reigned many years. He was grand-nephew to Ina, and became so famous for bravery in his youth that King Bertric grew jealous of him and sought to slay him. At first he fled for safety to Offa, and when after Bertric's marriage Offa sent him away, he went over sea to Charles the Great, whence he was called on Bertric's death to be king in his room. He put all the kings in England under him, as Offa had done, but he was so powerful, and things fell out so well for him, that the kings never got free again at his death, as they had done when Offa died. So he gained at last for Wessex the overlordship of England which the Northern kings had tried to win for Northumberland, and the kings of the Marchmen for Marchland. So under Egbert England became one in rule, as it had at Whitby become one in faith. Moreover, the kings of Wessex now brought the kings of the Welsh and Scots under them, and so became overlords of all Britain. There were still Scotch and Welsh kings, but they obeyed the English kings and acknowledged their rule. So with the reign of Egbert finishes this part of English History, in which has been told the story of the kingdoms which the English founded. The history which follows is the history of England under one king, and its struggles against foes who came from without.

2 For in Egbert's reign the Danes began to show themselves bitter foes to the English, as will afterwards be seen. The year that Bertric married Offa's daughter Edburg three Northern ships came to the English coast, and when the alderman of the place where they landed came down to see who

The Danes
and Nor-
wegians.

they were they slew him This is the first time we hear of the Danes and Northmen plundering in England They lived on the eastern coasts of the North Sea, in the same way as the English had done before they came to England They were of the same kin and spoke the same tongue, though little by little it grew different, till now an Englishman has to learn Danish as he would French The reason why the Danes, as the English called them (for the Norwegians plundered chiefly Scotland and Ireland and the Western Islands), began to come about this time, is partly because of their troubles at home, and partly because of the wars which Charles the Great and his house waged against the heathen Saxons and Danes in the North

In Denmark and Norway, just as in England, there were many small kingdoms, and now one king in each land was trying to put the small kings under him So there were many wars, and men fought cruelly with each other, because they were still heathen So many of the small kings and chiefs took to the sea, and sailed about with their followers plundering everywhere they came, only sometimes going back to Norway and Denmark

But after about a hundred years, when the head kings were firmly set on their thrones, they ruled more strictly Then many great men, with their followers, left their homes altogether Some settled in the islands of the North Sea, Iceland and the Faroes, and lived there as they had done at home, only they would have no king, but the chiefs ruled Others went to England and Ireland and Scotland and fought against the people of the land, and took part of their land and dwelt in it

3 Egbert had been long at the court of Charles the Great while Bertric was king of the West Saxons And no doubt what he had seen there helped him when he became king in England For Charles

*Egbert and
Charles*

was a great warrior and statesman, and conquered many peoples, and built up a mighty empire, and of him, his valiant men, and the deeds they did, many stories are told. And just before Egbert, by Charles's help, became king of the West Saxons, Charles was crowned by the Pope Emperor after the old Roman fashion, for he was now ruler over great part of the old Roman Empire. Henceforth there were two Emperors, one in the West, the Frank Emperor, who lived a great deal at Aken (Archen), and the other ruling the Eastern part of the old Roman Empire from Constantinople.

4 Egbert had a very busy reign. First he fought with the Welsh of Cornwall, the old foemen of the West Saxons, in 815, then against the king of the Marchmen at Ellandune (825). This was a very great battle, and many men fell there, so it is said in the old rhyme

Ellandune flood ran red with blood

After this battle the Marchmen were obliged to bow to Egbert's rule, and though they resisted him again they never could free themselves. Perhaps this was because the Frank kings hated the Marchmen and would not help them, but also it was through the hatred of the East English, for when they found the March kingdom growing weak they rose against it, and sent to Egbert and took him as their overlord. When the March king came against them they slew him. And afterwards, when the next king with a great host and five aldermen sought to avenge him, they slew him and his aldermen with him. So they became free from their old overlords, but they were obliged to take Egbert as overlord in their stead. Egbert also sent his son to Kent with an army, and he drove out the Kentish under-king, and was made king by

his father in his stead, and over Sussex and Essex also. That same year too, the English won a victory over the Welsh and Danes at Gafulford.

Two years after (827) Egbert gathered a great host, and went north, and the Marchmen solemnly took him as their lord, and the men of Northumberland when they saw his might did likewise. The next year he went against the Welsh of Wales, that he might give peace to the Marchmen, whom they were always attacking, so that it was seen that Egbert not only dared to rule but also to be of use to his subjects. And now for a short while there was peace.

At the end of his reign Egbert was harassed by the Danes and Northmen. This was the Danish way: they would sail up some river and there build an earthwork fort on some island or safe place for their camp, and from it they would row farther up the river in their ships, or seize horses and ride over the land, and plunder, driving off all the cattle, and taking all the gold and silver and precious things. Most of all they hated the priests and slew them, and burnt and robbed the churches wherever they could, for they remembered how Charles the Great and his kin had warred on their heathen brethren and slain them cruelly because they would not be Christians.

5 After this they ravaged the South country two or three years. Once Egbert fought with thirty-five ships' crews at Charmouth, and was beaten, and many of his great men were slain (835). Moreover, the Danes joined with the Welsh against him, but he gathered a host and went against them, and had the victory over them at Hengist's Down (837). Soon after this he died (838), full of honour, and when he died he parted his kingdom, as the kingdom of Charles was parted afterwards, among his sons. Ethelwolf took Wessex and became overlord of Britain, and

Charmouth
and Hengist's Down

Ethelstan took the land which Ethelwolf had ruled before, Kent and Sussex and Essex, as under-king

Egbert is called in the old books by the title of *Bryter walda*, as Edw in had been. This title is only given to seven kings before Egbert

6 In Egbert's days lived a great Danish king named Ragnar Rough Brecks, because he once clothed himself in skins to fight a wild beast. Of him it is said that he was shipwrecked in England, and that the under-king of Northumberland took him and cast him alive into a pit full of snakes, where, in spite of his sufferings, he sang a wonderful song telling of all his great deeds, till the snakes stung him to death. It was to revenge his death, some say, that his sons afterwards came to England and waged a cruel war against the English

CHAPTER XII

ETHELWOLF AND HIS ELDER SONS

1 ETHELWOLF reigned many years, and nearly all his time, like his father's, was taken up by war. First, he had to fight the Danes all along the South coast. Then a band of them landed in Kent, broke into London and Canterbury, and drove the March king away. In 851 Ethelwolf and his son Ethelbald fought the greatest battle that had been fought in the memory of man, at Ocklea, in Surrey. There the Danes fled before them, and they cleared the land of them for a while, though they came back again, and not long after a band of them wintered in Sheppey, just as the English had once stayed in Thanet before they began to conquer Britain. In 855, Ethelwolf, seeing that his kingdom was at rest for a little—for he had won a

Ethelwolf
A D 839-858

battle against the Welsh also—went to Rome as a pilgrim. Two years before he had sent thither his little son Alfred, and the Pope had received him very kindly, and made him his godson and hallowed him as a king. After he had stayed a year at Rome, Ethelwolf brought him back with him to England. He gave the Pope gifts, and promised to set aside a tenth of his land for the Church and the poor. On his way back Ethelwolf married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, king of the West Franks, and grandson of Charles the Great. This Charles afterwards became Emperor, like his grandfather, but now he was ruling over only a part of the realm of Charles, which had been divided between him and his brothers by their father, Louis. It is said that when Ethelwolf was coming home his son Ethelbald and bishop Alstan made a plot against him, and he was obliged to give Ethelbald Wessex, taking Kent, Sussex, and Essex for himself, for his brother Ethelstan was now dead. So his queen Judith reigned over Kent with him, but over Wessex since Edburg's days there was no queen. Soon after Ethelwolf died, and before his death, with the goodwill of his wise men, he divided his realm among his sons. To Ethelbert he gave Kent, and to the others Wessex, and the head-kingship to Ethelbald, Ethelred, and Alfred, one after another, but Ethelbert was never to be head-king.

2 So Ethelbald was made king, and he ruled for two years only. He married Judith, his stepmother, after the custom of the heathen kings, who used to ^{Ethelbald} marry the widow of the king who reigned ^{A.D. 858-860} before them. When he died all the people mourned greatly for him, so that though we know little of him we may believe he ruled his people well. But Judith after her husband's death, went to Gaul and married the Count of Flanders, and from her are sprung many famous folk.

3 Ethelbert, king of Kent, now became head king, though his father had bid him be content with his own realm. In his days the Danes began to plunder again. Once they broke into Winchester, the royal city of the West Saxons, but the aldermen came upon them and put them to flight. They also ravaged Kent sorely. Ethelbert reigned but a short while, and then he died, and Ethelred was made king.

4 Soon after he began to reign the sons of Ragnar Rough Breeks came with ships and men, plundered the East and North, and set up a king over part of Northumberland who ruled under them, but at York one of Ragnar's sons reigned. The sons of Ragnar also made raids in Ireland and Scotland, and set up a kingdom at Dublin, on the coast of Ireland. Soon after the taking of York the Danes went south into the Marchland, where they took all the towns north of Watling Street. People, when they came, now began to try and make peace with them, for they could not withstand them. But though the Danes would make peace for a while they soon began to plunder again.

In 869, Alfred the Etheling (which is the old English word for Prince) married a daughter of a Lincoln alderman, who was of the blood royal. On the day of his wedding he was smitten with a disease which harassed him all his life after, so that it is very wonderful that he was able to do so much in spite of his illness.

In 870 the Danes took horse and rode into East England, where they took the under king Edmund prisoner, and because he would not become underking to them nor forsake his faith they slew him with arrows. His body was buried in a town near, which has been since called by his name, S Edmundsbury. For he was counted a saint. And the Danes took East England and settled in it, and it became a Danish king-

dom Yet they did not drive out the English, but the East English became, as it were, Danes

5 The Danes next came into the middle of England, where Ethelred and Alfred, his brother, fought oft-times with them Of one of these battles Ashdown battle there is a story told Two Danish kings and five earls with a great host were plundering Middle England Against them came Ethelred and Alfred, and the Danes set their battle in array by a hawthorn that was on Ashdown, in Berkshire, but the English were below Ethelred's men were set against the two kings, and Alfred and his men against the earls Before the battle Ethelred went to prayers, and when the battle began he was still praying They called him out to the fight, but he would not go till his prayers were done, for he said he must first serve God and then his fellow-men When his prayers were finished he went to help Alfred, who was fighting like a wild boar against the hunters And he brought him great help, and slew one of the Danish kings with his own hand And at last the Danes fled before the English, who chased them many miles There fell also the five Danish earls

But the Danes were so many and strong that they fought two battles soon after against the king, in one of which he is said to have got his death-wound, and Alfred, his brother, was made king in his stead

CHAPTER XIII

ALFRED THE TRUTH-TELLER

1 ALFRED'S reign falls into two parts, the first down to 880, in which he was fighting chiefly with the Danes who were settling in the North and East of England under Ragnar's sons and Gorm, the last part (881 to 901), when he was chiefly

*Alfred the
Truth-teller,
A.D. 871-901*

fighting with Hasting and those who were trying to settle, though the settled Danes helped them sometimes

Soon after he became king, he had to fight the Danes and there was a drawn battle, but the Danes found that it was hard work fighting with Alfred, so many of them went away and plundered other lands, where the people did not withstand them so well. Then Alfred fought the Danes at sea and took a ship of theirs, which was a great thing to do, for the Danes had splendid ships, and men dreaded them even more on sea than on land.

2 Next year (876) Halfdan, Ragnar's son, settled with his Danes in Deira (Yorkshire). He shared it among them and they ruled it as their own. And the other Danes, under Guthorm, or Gorm, the Dane king of East Anglia, came back to plunder Wessex. But Alfred made peace with them, and they swore oaths to him on the holy ring, heathen fashion. Next year many of them broke this oath. But one of their fleets was wrecked, so they did not attack Wessex again, but ravaged the Marchland, that still held out for king Alfred, south of Watling Street.

But in 878 they came in such strong bands into Wessex that Alfred had to fly from them into Somerset, where he lived in a little island, called Athelney (Princes' Island), among the marshes which then covered that land. There he kept himself concealed till he could get together a force to drive the Danes out of England again. Near here was found, not long ago, a jewel which had belonged to a staff or sceptre, and on it the words, 'Alfred had me wrought.' It was about this time, when he was here hiding, that a story is told of him. He took refuge with a poor man one day and stayed with him for some time, but the poor man's wife did not know he was the king. She told the king to watch, while she was out of the room, some cakes which she put on the fire, but the

Halfdan and
the Danes
settle in
York
A.D 876

king forgot the cakes, for he was thinking and mending his bow and arrows. When the good-wife came back the cakes were spoilt. Then she was very angry, and told the king that he was ready to eat them when they were done but was too lazy to help to do them properly. For she knew not that he had been thinking of greater things.

3 Soon things began to look brighter, and Alfred was able to come forth as a king again. First one of Ragnar's sons was slain in Devon, and his magic banner, that had been worked in one day by his sisters, was taken. It was the image of a raven embroidered and fixed on a pole, its wings waved in the wind, and wherever it went it was said to bring victory to those who owned it. Soon after this victory Alfred gathered a great host at a place he fixed, and then he went after the Danes, and they fought at Edington, in the West Saxon land, and Alfred won the day, and there is still to be seen the figure of a horse cut in the turf, on the side of the hill, which is said to be a mark of this great battle. And after this battle he followed the Danes and shut them up in a fortress which they had made, till they promised to make peace and take the Christian faith. For Alfred could not trust their oaths as long as they were heathen. So the Danes and their king were baptized, and Alfred was godfather to Gorm, and gave him a new name, Ethelstan, which had been the name of his own father's brother. Peace also was made between the two kings at Chippenham. Gorm-Ethelstan was to keep East Anglia and the north half of the Marchland above Watling Street, and be Alfred's man, and Alfred was to keep all the rest. And that part of the Marchland which Alfred had he gave to Ethelred, an alderman of his, for there were no longer kings there, and he gave Ethelfled, his eldest daughter, to him to wife.

Edington
and Chip-
penham

A D 878

Next year very few of the Danes stayed south of Watling Street, but most of the Christians went to Gorm-Ethelstan's realm. Those who were still heathen went to join Hasting, a famous sea rover, who was now in Gaul.

So there was peace in England, but the Danes from abroad would still plunder the coast now and then, and Alfred fought once against them at sea.

Now the Danes ruled Yorkshire, East Anglia, and part of the Marchland. The rest of Northumberland and all south of Watling Street was under Alfred and his aldermen. But the Danes who lived in England had become Christians. That was a great gain to the English, for they no longer plundered cruelly, but began to settle down quietly with the English.

4. In 885 the kings of Wales are said to have made peace with Alfred and to have become his under-kings, and this is not unlikely. About this time Charles the Bald became Emperor, but he reigned weakly and his kingdom was divided and never brought together again, and in the north of Gaul the Counts of Paris ruled, who after a hundred years became kings of France. They deserved it, for they saved Gaul from the Northmen.

5. There was at this time in Norway a great king named Harold Fair-hair, who had smitten the small kings and made one great kingdom, and he had a friend, earl Ronwald, who had helped him much in this work. This king got his name in this way. He fell in love with a lady who was so proud that she would not marry a small king, as he was then, but laughed at him and said she would wed him when he was king of all Norway. He took this in earnest and swore he would never cut or comb his hair till he was head king of Norway, and after many years' hard work he became so. Then he combed out his hair and

trimmed it, and it was so long that he could tuck it under his belt, and it was as fair as gold. Then he married the proud lady, and she became queen, according to her words. Now, one of Ronwald's sons was so wild that the king thrust him out of the land. His name was Rolf, and he was called Ganger, or Walker, because he was so big and heavy that he could not easily find a horse to bear him. Rolf took to sea-roving, and joined Hasting, a great rover also, and they plundered the coasts of France and England, and began to be very famous. After Alfred's death, Rolf took a large tract of land in the North of France and settled there, as Gorm-Ethelstan had done in the East of England. Men called that land Northman's Land, or Normandy, and Rolf, like Gorm, was baptized with his men, by the name of Robert, and he married the King of France's daughter. The Normans soon began to speak French, for they had not slain all the Frenchmen, but had settled down among them and parcelled out the land, though the French still worked on the land and paid rent to the Normans. Had it not been for the Counts of Paris no doubt the Normans would have conquered all the North of France, but Paris always withstood them, and they could go no further.

6 Once before 893 the Danes came over from Holland, where they were plundering, and tried to take Rochester, and ravaged Essex, but Alfred came to the Englishmen's help and drove them away. In 886 he rebuilt the walls of London. In 890 Gorm-Ethelstan died, which was an ill thing for Alfred, for while Gorm lived he tried to keep the peace. In 891 was fought in the Netherlands the great battle of Loewen or Louvain between the Danes and the East Frank king, who discomfited them and smote them with a great slaughter, so that they dared not ravage in the Frank land for many years. This made them go

Alfred and
Hasting

back to England and try and settle there. So in 893 they came back under Hasting, the sea-rover, built forts of earthwork in Kent, and tried to hold the land. The Danes of Northumberland and East England helped them, and Alfred was hard beset, but he faced them boldly. Next year, while he was fighting against one band in the West, another band came from the East of England up the Thames and rode across the land. Alfred pursued them and won a battle, and they went back to East England. There they left their spoil, and wives and children—for they came, like the English, with all their goods, wishing to make a new home—and then rode across England to Chester, whence they could not easily be driven. But in 896 the Sussex folk put to flight one band that came up out of the west. The next year the Danes brought their ships up the Lea, and made a fort and sat down there, but the English made a great cutting and turned the water another way, so the Danish ships were left dry. This was by Alfred's counsel, for he had come there to protect the corn against the Danes, for it was harvest-time. When the Danes saw that they could not go back by the river they took horse and rode across to the Severn Valley, and there made another fort and waited for ships. But the men of London went up to fetch the ships the Danes had left, and those that were seaworthy they kept, but the rest they broke up. Soon after the Danish host left Alfred's kingdom, some went off to their brethren on the East coast, and so he went over sea to the Seine, where Rolf was setting up his earldom.

7 But Alfred found that the best way to keep off the

Alfred's
fleet.

A.D. 897

Danes was by having good ships to fight them at sea, and follow them round the coast.

So he built long ships against the ships of the Danes, fullnigh twice as long as they, and swifter,

steadier, and higher He seems to have been his own shipbuilder, for we are told that he did not copy the Danish nor Frisian ships, but made them as he thought best for the work of keeping the coasts Through the unskilfulness of their crews they were not able to beat the Danes who came and plundered the Isle of Wight and Devon Yet, though the Danes escaped once from them, they were not willing to risk themselves as they did before Alfred had a good fleet, and soon he was better able by this means to keep the coast.

In 901 he died, and his son Edward was made king

8 Besides these wars of Alfred and the great troubles of his reign he found time for many things, so that he got as great a name as ever English king before or after got He was called the Truth-teller, Alfred's character and the Great He was a very just king, and took great trouble to make good laws, which he chose out of the laws of Ethelbert and Ina and Offa Some of his own laws also he set with them by the counsel of the great men of England He made strict laws against robbery, violence, and evil-doing, and against those who broke the commandments of the Church and the Bible

He was a very learned man for his day, and protected scholars, so that his fame spread abroad In 891 there came to see him four of the chief scholars of Ireland, which was then a great place for learning He always had learned men about him, such as Grimbald the Frank, and Asser the Welshman, who is said to have written his life When Alfred found that the Danish war had driven learning out of the North and destroyed the schools which had been there from the days of Bede, he set about finding teachers for his people He did what he could to teach them himself, for he set many books out of Latin into English for them, that they might learn wisdom, and he added to

these books what he thought useful out of his own knowledge. He Englished Bede's Church History, the Pastoral of Pope Gregory, and the philosophy of Boethius, and a book by Orosius, who wrote of the world and its geography. In his reign too the English Chronicles were put into shape and a full history of Alfred's own time written therein.

Alfred was very careful of the Church. He often sent messengers and gifts to the Pope, and there went messengers from him to the Churches in India and Jerusalem. He built two monasteries, and over one he put his second daughter as abbess. The other he built at Athelney, out of thankfulness for the great deliverance he had after the evil days he passed there in hiding.

He was fond of hearing about foreign lands, and in his translation of Orosius he tells us of the travels of two sea captains whom he sent to the North Sea and the Baltic. He was also very fond of music.

He was very hard-working, and never lost a moment, but always had something to do, and he carried a little book with him to put down anything that seemed useful to remember. He governed wisely and chose good officers, and took care of rich and poor alike. For he said that in a well-ruled kingdom the priest, the soldier and the yeoman should each be taken care of, that each might do his appointed work as well as possible.

He was very mild of heart and forgiving. Once when Hasting had broken his oath to him and was fighting against him he took his wife and children prisoners, but he sent them back to him and would not keep them in bonds. He was loved for his good heart as well as for his wise head, and when he was dead men often wished that the days of good king Alfred, 'England's darling,' would come again.

9 Though the Danes were still troublesome after

Alfred's death they were not able to do much harm for a long time, most of the Danes who had been seeking a fresh home had found one, or had gone back, or had been slain, and so there was rest, and under the kings who reigned for the next hundred years England was greater and more peaceful than it had been before. The reasons why the Danes had been able to conquer and settle down in so much of the land were

(1) They were able to move about more swiftly in their ships than the English could move along the roads, and so they often took the English unawares

(2) The land of England, though it was under one overlord was not yet quite one kingdom. Each part of the country still acted by itself a good deal, and so the Danes, though not strong enough to beat the great king, could often drive away the under-kings or aldermen

(3) The Danes were near akin to the English. So, though the English fought very bravely for their land and their homes, yet they felt that if the Danes would only make peace and dwell among them quietly as neighbours they would be safer than if they had them as foes

(4.) In the first days of the Danish inroads the English king had no regular fleet nor army, like our armies of to day always ready to fight any foe. He had only his own guards, and when he wished to go to war he had to send round and summon all the armed men of the kingdom and wait till they came together before they could do anything. They would not stay together very long, but went back to their business whenever they had won a battle or lost one, or had served as long as they thought fit. But the Danes were under better discipline than the English. When men live much on board ship, they learn to act together and to obey their captain, and so it was with the Danes, who often beat the English merely because they kept better order and were steadier in battle

The Keltic Peoples

*Scotland**Cumberland* (now put under the Scottish Kings)*Wales* (North and South)

The ENGLISH

E 1 *Essex*E 2 *Marchland*E 3 *Wessex*E 4. *Sussex*E 5 *Kent*

The DANISH Settlements

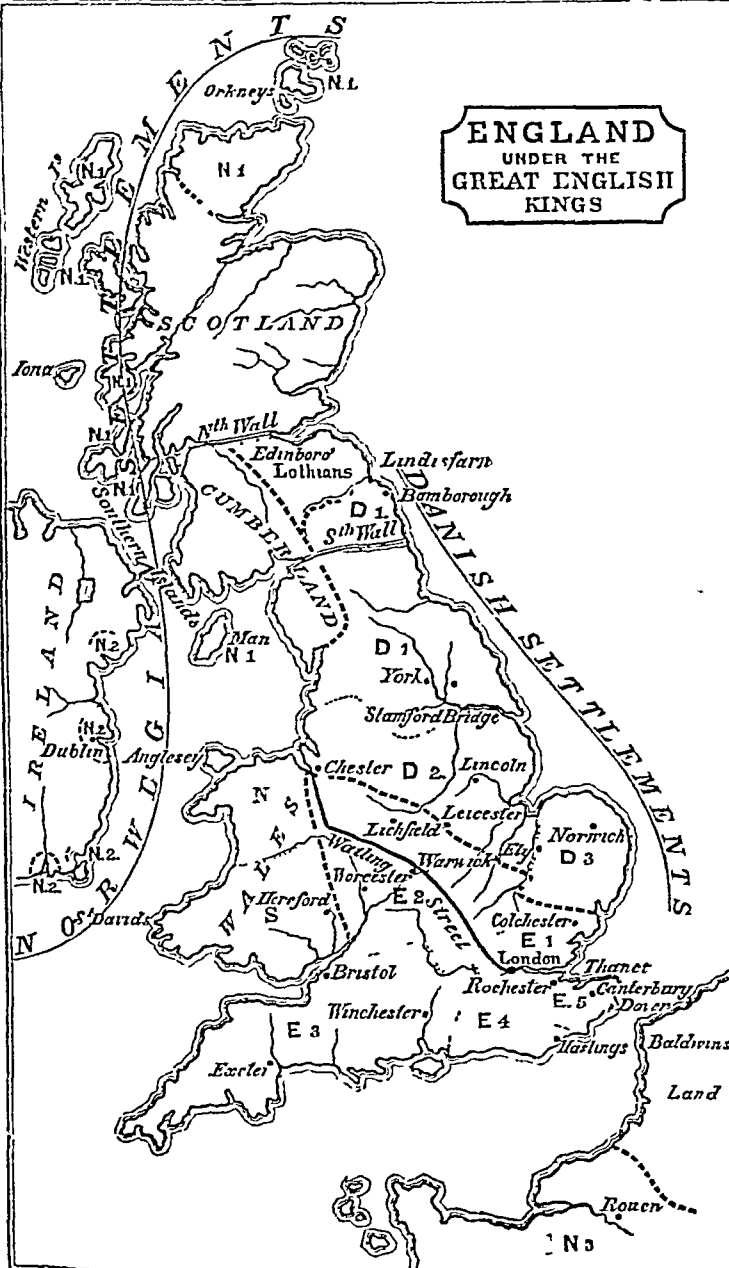
D 1 *Northumberland*D 2 *The Five Boroughs and Lincoln*D 3 *East England*

The *Lothians*, where the Danes did not hold rule, was put at last under the Scottish Kings

The NORTHMEN'S Settlements

N 1 *The Orkney Earldom and the Kingdom of Man*N 2 *Northmen's Irish Kingdom*N 3 *Normandy*

ENGLAND
UNDER THE
GREAT ENGLISH
KINGS



CHAPTER XIV

EDWARD THE ELDER

1 KING EDWARD, called the ELDER, is said to have been in learning less, in honour and worth equal, in glory greater than his father, for he spread his kingdom much farther than Alfred had done. At first he had much trouble, for one of his cousins, Ethelwald, son of Ethelred, wished to be king in his stead. He seized the nunnery of Wimborne which In's sister had founded, and fortified it, he also took one of the nuns to wife, without leave of the king or bishops. When Edward heard of this he marched against him. When Ethelwald saw the number of the king's host he stole away by night and went into Northumberland, where the Northern Danes received him kindly and made him their king. He made an alliance with Yorick, king of the Danes in East England, and ravaged Kent and the Marchland. So Edward went up against him, and many Kentishmen with him, and there was a great battle fought. When Edward was obliged to give way the men of Kent would not draw back, they were so angry at the wasting of their land, but though Edward sent seven times to them to tell them of their danger, they stayed and fought on. They could not win the battle, but Ethelwald and Yorick and many of the chief Danes fell, and so the danger was stayed. Next year Gorm, the son of Yorick, and Edward made peace, as Alfred and Gorm-Ethelstan had done. They also set Watling Street as a boundary between their lands, and agreed to put down all witchcraft and heathendom among their people.

Now, Edward and his sister Ethelfled, the Lady of Mercia, set about fortifying all the towns along the border. The Lady built up Chester, which was a waste city, and

many towns she walled throughout her land, and some new ones she built, and Edward did the like in his land

They fought many battles with the Danes who came from without, for Gorm kept well to the peace. In 912 Ethelred the alderman died, but Ethelfled governed his land after his death very bravely and wisely

2 In 913 Charles the Simple, king of the West Franks, gave Normandy to Rolf and made peace with him. Of the peace between Charles and Rolf it is told that when Rolf became Charles's man, and swore to hold Normandy of him, he was told to kiss the king's slipper in token that he took him as his lord. But he said he would never do that, and he bade one of his men do it for him. The man, instead of stooping down, lifted up the king's foot so that he fell backward on the ground. At this the Northmen laughed, for they thought it wrong that a man should be so proud.

3 In 915 a large Danish fleet came to England, and the Danes tried to land, but they were driven off and went to Ireland.

And now there was war again between the English and Danes on the Border, but the Lady was everywhere victorious, and she took all the Danes' land up to York, and brought Middle England into Edward's power. At last just as she was laying siege to York she died. She had fought too with the Welsh, and taken the Welsh queen prisoner. When she was dead Edward joined the Marchland to his kingdom and governed it himself. As before, Edward was victorious over the Danes, and though they tried hard they could never take his new castles and walled towns, for he had at last found the true way to stay them. So one after another they came to make peace—first, some Danes from abroad, then the Danes on the borders of Northumberland. At last, in 922,

the Welsh, who had tried in vain to get hold of Cl ester, took him as father and lord. So did the Dane king of York, and the Welsh of the Clyde Valley, the English lord of the North who ruled in Bamborough, and the king of the Scots. So now Edward ruled over all Britain as overlord, and over a great part as his own kingdom. This happened in 923, and soon after he died. Men called Edward the Unconquered, because of his glory in war.

4 Edward had many children, and some of his daughters became queens also, for they were married to the great kings over-sea—one to Otto the Emperor, another to Charles the Simple, another to Louis, king of Arles, and one to Hugh, great Count of Paris. But one was married to Sigtric, the Dane king in the North. When Charles the Simple, king of the West Franks, was driven from his kingdom, Edgif, his wife, came to England with her little son Lewis, who was afterwards king in his father's land, and he was called Lewis 'from over-sea,' because he was long at the English court.

This shows that the English kings were now great people, and were thought much of abroad. Also it shows that the kings after Egbert took much care to be friends with the kings abroad. Thus England was no more shut out from the rest of the Western world, as it had been when there were many small kings in England.

Edward, like his father, made good laws and was especially careful that the peace should be kept and that the judges should act uprightly. He also favoured the Church, and one of his daughters became a nun. And he set a new bishop in the west of his land, at Wells. Edward died in 925, and his son Ethelstan was made king, and there was great joy when he was crowned.

CHAPTER XV

ETHELSTAN THE STEADFAST.

I ETHELSTAN had some trouble at the beginning of his reign, for a cousin of his tried to get made king instead, but he was driven away. Soon the Dane king Sigtric died, and the Danes' war broke out afresh in the North, but Ethelstan took Northumberland and joined it to his own kingdom, though the English men of Bamborough tried to withstand him. The sons of Sigtric fled to Ireland and Scotland and tried to get help there against him, but Ethelstan made the Scot king keep the peace. And now Ethelstan took Exeter, and made it strong, and set Englishmen in it, so the Welsh had only Cornwall in the West.

But in 937 there gathered a great host against him, for the Scots and Welsh of Strath Clyde joined the Danes. Ethelstan and his brother Edmund marched north to meet them, and they fought at Brunanburg. Of this battle there is a famous song which tells how Ethelstan slew the Scot king's son, and five Dane sea-kings (kings of fleets), and many great men. All day they fought, but when evening came the English won the fight.

Before the battle it is said that Olaf, one of the Dane kings, disguised himself as a harper and went into Ethelstan's camp to spy out his array. But a soldier who had fought for Olaf in former days saw him and thought he knew him. So when the Englishmen gave him money for his playing he watched him, and when he saw him bury the money—for Olaf thought it not kingly to take money from the English when he was acting as a spy—he was sure it was the king. When Olaf was gone he told Ethelstan who it was. But Ethelstan asked him why he had let him go, and the soldier said, 'If I had betrayed him

whom I once served how shouldst thou have trusted me, whom I serve now?' And Ethelstan was pleased with his answer. But Olaf gathered his men and fell upon Ethelstan's camp that night, and slew a bishop who lay where Ethelstan had lain. For Ethelstan moved his tent when he knew that Olaf had spied out his camp. But the Englishmen woke up, and at last drove out the Danes and slew many of them. After this great battle the Scot and Welsh kings made peace with Ethelstan again, for they feared his might.

2 Ethelstan was a very good king, and we never hear of any evil deed of his doing, save that some say he caused his brother Edwin to be put in a boat with one servant and turned adrift at sea, because he had plotted against him. Edwin threw himself overboard in despair and was drowned, and the servant came to land and told of his death. We do not know certainly that this is true, and as we find Ethelstan very kind to all his other kinsfolk it is rather unlikely.

3 Ethelstan had many friends abroad, as his father and grandfather had, and it was in his days that messengers came from the great Count of Paris to ask the hand of the fairest of his sisters. They brought him many splendid gifts, one of which was the sword of Constantine, the Emperor, with his name in gold letters graven on it, they brought also the spear of Charles the Great and a beautiful cup carved marvellously with figures, and horses with fine trappings, and many fair jewels. The like of these treasures had never been seen in England before. The Northern books say too that Harold Fairhair sent his little son Hakon to be brought up by Ethelstan. He sent too as a present to Ethelstan a great ship with a gilded prow and a purple sail, and around the bulwarks was a

row of shields, gilt and painted It is certain that Hakon was brought up in England, and that he was called from that Ethelstan's foster-son, but some men say that he was with Gorm-Ethelstan, the Dane king of East England, and not with Ethelstan, the English king Hakon afterwards became king in Norway, and tried to make his people Christian, as he was, but they would not

4. The mother of Ethelstan was a poor girl, who was brought up by the nurse of his father, Edward One day while Edward was on a journey he passed Ethelstan's birth. near the house of his old nurse, and stopped and went to see her, there he met this poor girl, and fell in love with her for her great beauty When Ethelstan was born his grandfather Alfred was still alive, and when he saw him grow up a good boy he became very fond of him, and often prayed that he might be a good and great king He gave him a purple cloak and a beautiful sword with a golden sheath that hung from a jewelled belt It was then the custom that when a boy grew up and became a young man he was girt with a sword and belt like a soldier, and was allowed to fight by the side of the men in the day of battle But Ethelstan was made a soldier when he was yet a boy only six years old

5 He was very handsome, like his mother, and had long hair that shone like gold He was very kind and good-natured to the poor people, and very Ethelstan's character ready to listen to the priests, to his nobles he behaved as a king should, and towards his enemies he was very brave and steadfast He was open-handed, and when he took spoil in war he dealt it out among his followers He would never hoard up riches, but all he had he gave away that it might be used as wisely as possible When he died all men mourned for him, and his days, though few, were glorious

CHAPTER XVI

EDMUND THE DEED DOER.

1 EDMUND, his brother, was made king after him, but, by the counsel of the archbishop of York, the Danes in the North rose against him, and took Olaf of Ireland for their king. Edmund went against them and won back the five great towns in the north of the Marchland. The English that dwelt therein and had been so long ruled by the Danes were very glad, and there was a fine song written on this great deed.

In 943 Olaf made peace with Edmund and was baptized, and Edmund gave him great gifts. In the same year Dunstan was made abbot of Glastonbury. He was the son of a great man who lived near Glastonbury, and was brought up at the abbey there. He had been at the court of Ethelstan, but some folks there hated him, so he did not stay long with the king, but was persuaded to become a monk. And now Edmund took him into his favour and gave him Glastonbury to rule. He ruled it well, rebuilt the church, and kept the monks in good order. He was a very wise man and skilled in all things for he played and sung well, was a good smith, and painted very well. He was also wise in ruling men.

2 In 944 Olaf of Ireland died, and Olaf, son of Sigtric, ruled in his stead. He fought against Edmund, but Edmund drove him out, and joined all North-umberland to his own kingdom, so that there were no more kings there, but only *earls*, or governors who ruled for the kings of England.

In the next year Edmund took Cumberland, and gave it to the king of the Scots to rule, and the king of Scots promised in return to be his man and help him in all that he did.

3 In 946 Edmund was slain in this way He was sitting at meat with his men, and there came in Leof, an outlaw, for it was the feast-day of S Augustine, and no man would hurt him on that day, and he sat down with the rest But the king was wroth when he saw his boldness, and bade his cup-bearer turn him out When he tried to do so Leof withstood him and would have slain him, but the king leaped up from his seat and caught Leof by his hair and threw him down Then Leof drew a knife and wounded the king to the death, but the king's followers slew Leof on the spot. Dunstan had the king buried at Glastonbury, and mourned greatly for him Edmund, though he reigned for so few years, did many great deeds, so that men called him Edmund the Deed-doer

CHAPTER XVII

EDRED THE CHOSEN

1 THLN reigned Edred, his brother He was a pious man and ruled well, though he was infirm of body He hearkened to the words of Dunstan and did what he counselled

Edred's
wars
A D 946-955

The Danes in the North rose against him, and the archbishops with them, but Edred fought against them for three years, till they asked for peace and became his men They had chosen Eric Bloodax, son of Harold Fairhair of Norway, to be their king, and he withstood Edred, but Edred drove him out And Edred put the archbishop of York in bonds for the harm he had wrought against him, but after a little while he set him loose

Edred set two earls over Northumberland, one in the north, the other in the south of it, to keep it for him, but that part of it which is called the Lothians, between the Firth and Tyne, he gave to the king of Scots

to hold under him, in the same way as he held Cumberland already. Edred was as generous as his brother, and gave much to the Church. In 955 he died, and Dunstan and all England mourned for him. He has been called the 'Chosen,' or 'Excellent,' for his goodness, and there have been few kings like him. For he was, like his grandfather, humble and brave and hard working.

CHAPTER XVIII

EDWY

1 WHEN Edred died, Edwy, the son of Edmund, was crowned king, and his brother Edgar was made under-king in the North. Edwy was very headstrong, and quarrelled with those who had been the greatest friends of Edred.

Edwy's
troubled
reign
A D 955-9

He married Elfgif, and Oda, the archbishop, did not like this marriage, for he held it was against the law. On the day of Edwy's crowning, when there were many gathered together at the feast, suddenly the king arose from the midst of them and left the hall and went to his wife's bower, where he sat with her, leaving his nobles by themselves. They were very wroth at this, and bade Dunstan go and fetch the king back, and he did so.

Soon after this the king drove out Dunstan, who went to Flanders, but Edgar sent for him, and made him a bishop in his part of England. Edwy had another reason for his dislike of him. Dunstan and the best men of the Church at this time were trying to make the monks live better, for they had grown lazy and gluttonous. Edgar and the men of the North were pleased with this, but Edwy and the men of the South set themselves against it. At last the quarrel rose so high about this, and also because of Edwy's foolish acts, that Edgar rose against his brother and would not obey him. It was

not till Oda persuaded Edwy to put away his wife and do as he wished that they were reconciled. Some say that the Marchmen took her prisoner and treated her so cruelly that she died, and some say this was done by order of Oda, but others deny it. Soon after this Edwy died, or was slain, we do not know how, and his brother became king of all England. Edwy is said to have been so handsome that he was called the Fair

CHAPTER XIX

EDGAR THE PEACE-WINNER.

1 EDGAR'S rule was very prosperous, and he had peace for the most part of his reign. The first year of his reign Dunstan was made archbishop of Canterbury, and he continued the king's friend and adviser all the days of his life. With him Dunstan
and his
friends were Oswald, archbishop of York, the nephew of Oda, and Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester. These men also did many good works, for they were very wise and skilled in all arts, as Dunstan was. But one plan they had, which was to turn out from the cathedrals the priests who were not monks and put monks in their stead, for they thought that the monks from their strict life would do more good. But the parish priests and those priests who were not monks did not like this, so that there was a quarrel in the Church.

2 Edgar at first had to fight against the Scots and Welsh. He made the greatest of the Welsh kings sue for peace, which he gave on condition of his Edgar's
wars promising to pay him three hundred wolves' heads every year. In those days there were still wolves in England, and they were a great trouble to the farmers and shepherds. Once the men of the North revolted, but Edgar ravaged their land, and some say it was

he, and not Edred, that gave the Lothians to Kenneth to govern

3 In 973 Edgar was solemnly crowned. Some say that the reason he had not been crowned before was that he had done an evil thing. When he repented and confessed his sin the archbishop had told him that he should not be crowned for seven years, as a sign of repentance. However this was, it is certain that there was a very grand feast, and after it Edgar went with his fleet to Chester. There he was met by the kings over whom he was over-lord—five Welsh kings, and Kenneth, the king of Scots, and the under-king of Cumberland, and the Danish king of the Southern Isles. These eight rowed him on the river in his barge, and he sat and steered. So Edgar held greater state than ever any English king had held before. Even the Danish kings of Dublin bowed to him, and money was struck there in his name. Every year while Edgar lived his fleet sailed round England to guard it, so that no foes could land without a fight.

4 When he was dead there began evil days for the English, so that men looked back to his reign when there was peace and good laws. Edgar, like all great kings, was very careful about good laws, and, with the help of Dunstan and the wise men of England, he made many such, and saw that they were kept, and anyone who broke them was sternly punished. Once the men of Thanet plundered some foreign merchants, and when Edgar heard of it he sent an army to punish them, and laid waste all their island.

In his days Peterborough was built up again, which Wolfere had founded, but it had fallen into decay through the long Danish wars. He made it so rich with precious gifts and lands that it was called the Golden Borough.

Many stories are told about Edgar which, if they were true, would make him not a very good man, but whether they be true or not he was certainly a good king and ruled his people well, if he could not always rule himself. He was a little man, but very strong, and afraid of nothing. One day while the king of Scotland was sitting at drink with his men he said, 'Wonderful it is to me that so many lands should obey one little man.' A certain minstrel heard this, and told it to Edgar, mocking him. When Edgar heard it he sent for Kenneth, saying that he had certain matters to say to him alone. When he came he took him into a wood apart, and brought out two swords, and gave Kenneth one of them, saying, 'Now let us try which of us is the best man, and see whether I am unfit to rule taller men than myself. Neither shalt thou leave this wood till we have proved this, for unkingly it is to say that at a feast which thou wouldst not hold to in a fray.' And Kenneth was astonished and fell at his feet and prayed his forgiveness, saying that he had spoken but in jest. Then Edgar was content and forgave him.

5 There is another story told of Edgar which, though if not perhaps true, yet there was a ballad about it, and it is a famous story. There was a beautiful lady in Edgar's days whose name was Elfrith. The story of Elfrith. The story of Elfrith, and the fame of her beauty was so great that the king heard of it. So he sent a friend of his, whose name was Ethelwald, to ask her hand for him of her father. But when Ethelwald saw her he fell in love with her himself, so he told the king that she was not so fair as people had said, and instead of the king's marrying her he married her himself. After some time the truth was told the king, and he was very wroth, but he did not show it, and spoke kindly to Ethelwald, and told him he would come and see him. When Ethelwald heard

that he was sore afraid. So he went home and told his wife Elfthrith the whole truth, and begged her to make herself as ugly as she could, and dress herself in mean raiment, that the king might not suspect his deceit. But she was very angry because he had prevented her from being a king's wife, so when the king came to the house of Ethelwald she dressed herself in fine raiment and made herself look as handsome as she could. When the king saw how fair she was he was the more enraged, and while he was hunting with Ethelwald he thrust a spear through him so that he died.

Ethelwald had a son before he married Elfthrith, and the young man was by when his father was slain. When the king saw him he said to him, 'What think you of this kind of hunting?' for he was very angry. And the young man answered 'My lord, how should I be displeased at what pleases you?' The king was appeased by his ready answer, and his anger left him. Afterwards he was very kind to him, and gave him great gifts, that he might atone for the slaying of his father. Edgar sent for Elfthrith and married her, so that she became a king's wife after all. She founded a house for nuns also where Ethelwald was slain, that the sin of Edgar might not fall upon her.

CHAPTER XX.

EDWARD THE MARTYR

I WHEN Edgar died he left two sons. Elfthrith was the mother of the younger, whose name was Ethelred, the name of the other was Edward. By his will he desired that Edward should be king, and though Elfthrith wished that her little son, who was only seven years old, should be king, Dunstan and the Wise Men chose Edward. Before he was crowned there arose a great quarrel between the North

Dunstan
and Ed
ward.

and South of England about the monks, for Elfhere, alderman of the English March, drove out the monks and filled their places with simple priests, but the great aldermen of Essex and East England gathered a host to defend them. It was the Northern folk that had helped Edgar against his brother, so now they stood out for Edward, while the Southern folk wished for Ethelred. But Dunstan and Oswald, the two archbishops, prevented a war, though Elfhere did many evil deeds against the monks all the days of Edward.

There were many meetings of the great men of England throughout this reign to try and settle things peacefully. At one of these a strange thing happened. While the elders of England were sitting together in an upper chamber the floor suddenly fell, save one beam on which Dunstan was standing. So he was not hurt, but of the others some were sore hurt and others killed. After this men believed more in Dunstan than they did before, for they thought that God had kept him from harm for a sign to them.

2 In 979 an evil deed was done, so that the song of that day says 'no worse deed was done among the English since they first sought the land of Britain'. It is said that it happened in this way. ^{Edward's death} Edward had been out hunting, and as he was riding home weary from the chase he came near the house of his stepmother and rode to it. There she met him and received him well, and gave him to drink, for he was very thirsty, but as he was drinking she bade one of her followers stab him in the back, and he did so. When the king felt that he was wounded he spurred his horse and rode off as fast as he could, but he was so faint that he could not sit in his saddle. So he fell off, and his foot caught the stirrup, and he was dragged along by the frightened horse through the rugged wood till he died. Men said that Elfthryth and Elfhere had plotted to slay him as they

best could But Edward was held a martyr, and soon
 I lſthrith repented her of her evil deed and went into a
 house of nuns, where she ſtayed all her days praying for
 the forgiveness of her ſins Elſhere afterwards brought
 the body of the king in great ſtate to Shrifteſbury Minſter,
 which Alfred had built Soon after he died of a dreadful
 diſeaſe, and men ſaid God ſo puniſhed him for his ſin

Edward is ſaid to have been a good king on earth,
 and after his death a ſaint in heaven He was fair to
 look on, like moſt of the men of his race

CHAPTER XVI

CHANGES IN ENGLAND UNDER THE GREAT KINGS

1 UNDER the great English kings many changes had
 come about First, the Church had brought men toge-
 ther for one great purpose, and had taught
 The Church that all Chriſtians were brothers whether
 they ſpoke the ſame tongue or were of the ſame tribe
 or not Moreover the monks, who lived together in
minſters or large houſes, with great lands round them, had
 kept alive the learning which king Alfred reſtored, and
 had taught the English many uſeful things, ſo that build-
 ing and the arts and trades were all improved The monks
 too were great gardeners, and brought into England many
 new herbs and plants which were uſeful for medicine or
 for food It is to monks that we owe the famous Old
 English Chronicle, a book which tells us moſt of all others
 about Early England Many other books, chiefly written
 in Latin, have come down to us from their hands

2 Next the kings had grown more powerful, for not
 only did they now rule a people inſtead of a tribe, but
 they held ſtricter ſway over their ſubjects, and
 The King were more looked up to Edward and Ethel-
 ſtan had divided the Marchland into ſhires, for the old tribe

kingdoms in the Marchland had been swept over by the Danes and their governments destroyed. So these kings divided the land round the great towns which they had fortified, and put a *sherzff* or shire-steward over each shire by the side of the *alder man* to look after its rule. The towns too had grown more important, and more people dwelt in them.

Moreover, now that so many kingdoms were joined together, there was one great council which helped the king to govern the land. This council was made up of the wise and great men out of all England, and was above all the little councils which each small kingdom and each shire had. Over it the king and the archbishop presided, just as the bishop and the alderman and sheriff presided at the shire-meetings or folk-meetings. This great council was called the Witenagemót, or Meeting of the Wise Men. It met usually once or twice a year, and made laws and chose the kings, and if a king behaved badly turned him out and put another in.

3 The great men of the kingdom were different too from what they had been. The officers of the king's household became great nobles, and the servants of the king became nobles also, so that The nobles the nobles were no more called *eorls*, but *thanes*, that is to say servants. It was no longer gentle birth that made men nobles, but service done to the king. From these *thanes* the king and the wise men chose the sheriffs and aldermen for the shires and under-kingdoms. The nobles too had grown more powerful, for many poor men sought the help of them and their followers, and to gain this they gave their lands to the nobles, who gave them back to them on condition that they worked for them, so that few small men now held their lands quite freely.

4 In the villages and small towns the old family feeling of the clan had died out, and the villagers often made clubs, which managed their business, as the old

council of elders had done These clubs were called
 The vil *guilds* They were made for helping each
 lages other, and for safety against robbers and the
 like They held a pastime in every year, which became
 the village feast

5 The coming of the Danes and their settling among
 the English helped also to change England. It bound the
 The Danes. English more together, for they were all ob-
 liged to work together against their common
 foe The Danes stirred up the minds of the English
 among whom they settled, for they were more active
 and restless than they They also prevented the Eng-
 lish where they settled from becoming too much the
 servants of the great men, for they were too fond of their
 freedom to let it go easily

CHAPTER XXII

ETHELRED THE UNREADY

1 ETHELRED, the next king, was not at all like the
 great kings before him He was cruel and foolish, and,
 Ethelred above all, would not take good advice, but
 and Dun always listened to those who pleased him
 stan at the time He was called the 'Unready,'
 which did not mean then what it would now mean, but
 'Ill advised.' Men said that his reign was cruel at its
 outset, wretched in its course, and disgraceful in its end.

In the first ten years of his reign Dunstan was alive,
 and though when he crowned him he is said to have pro-
 phesied evil of him, because of the cruel deed by which

he came to the throne, yet he helped him with his advice, so that he did no very evil thing while Dunstan lived. When he was crowned the South English were very glad, because they were against the monks, and because the last two kings had been chosen by the Northern English. But the Northern English were very wroth, for they did not like the South Englishmen to rule over them, so they broke away from Ethelred's government.

When Elfhre died Elfric was made alderman of the Marchmen. He was a bad man and a traitor, and did little good to England. The king had a quarrel too during this time with the bishop of Rochester, and Dunstan tried to pacify the king, but he would not be stayed. Then Dunstan sent him a gift of money, and he made peace with the bishop. Dunstan was very wroth, and sent to the king this message: 'Because thou hast preferred silver to righteousness therefore those evils of which I spake shall come upon thee, but not while I live, for so hath the Lord told me.' Dunstan died three years after this (989). And the words which he spake were fulfilled.

2 Already the Danes and Northmen had begun to attack England again, and now Olaf, the Northman, came to England with a great host and did much evil. But in 991 Bertnoth, the alderman of Essex, fought a great battle with the Danes at Maldon. There he fell, but his men stood and fought over his body, and though they lost the day they saved his body from the heathen, as the Song of Maldon tells us.

In this same year the Wise Men, by the advice of archbishop Sigric, did a very foolish thing—they laid a tax on the people and raised 10,000*l*, which they gave to the Danes to buy them off. This tax was called the Dane-gild or Dane-money. The Danes took the money and went away for awhile, but next year came back and ravaged England again to get more, and so it went

on There was a fleet gathered, but Elfric sent word to the Danes of it and joined himself to them when they came to London to fight the English. The English beat them, and Elfric fled. Then Ethelred put out the eyes of Elfric's son for the evil deeds of his father, which was a cruel and unkingly deed.

3 Soon after Olaf, the Northman, was joined by Sweyn Fork beard, the king of Denmark. He had passed all his early days in fighting with his father, but now that his father was dead and he was king he began to make war upon England, and a sore foe he was. He and Olaf beset London with ships, but the Londoners beat them off. Soon after, by the good advice of Elfhæg, bishop of Winchester, Ethelred made peace with Olaf, who was confirmed, and Ethelred became his god-father. Olaf had been baptized in the Scilly Islands, but the Norwegians were still heathen. Ethelred gave him great gifts, and Olaf swore to him that he would never ravage England more. He kept his word, and departed to Ireland, and there he married, and soon after was made king of Norway. His rule was stormy, for he tried to make his folk Christians by force, and they would not. In the end he fell in a great sea-fight against his former friend Sweyn, whom his people had called in to help them against Olaf. Olaf was the strongest, handsomest, and most accomplished man of his time. He was very steadfast to his word, but he was cruel and headstrong. To the host of Sweyn and Olaf 16,000/ was given to bide them to sail away when peace was made with Olaf.

4 In 997 and the next two years Sweyn came again and plundered Wessex, Sussex, and Kent. At last the Wise Men took counsel and got together a large fleet, but the captains fell to quarrelling among themselves, so nothing was done.

Olaf the
Norwegian
king

Ethelred's
other wars

Next year Ethelred, instead of making his realm safe against the Danes, sent his fleet to fight the Normans. There it sped ill and was driven back. This he did because the Normans had received the Danish ships in their ports. He himself and his army went north and laid waste Cumberland, because Malcolm, the under-king, would not pay him money to help buy off the Danes, for Malcolm said that he was bound to fight for the English king, and would gladly do so, but he would not pay money. Ethelred was wroth, and perhaps ashamed, and so he warred against him.

5 The quarrel with Normandy was soon made up, for in the year 1002 Ethelred married Emma, whom the English called Elfgif, the sister of the duke of Normandy. She was very fair, but she was not a good woman.

That year the English paid 24,000*l* to the Danes for peace. So we see they had to give more and more each time, and it was of little avail. Then the king did a very evil deed, by the advice of one of his favourites, Eadric Streona (the Gainer). He had all the Danes slain who had remained in the South of England on the day of S. Brice. It fell on Saturday, the day the Danes used to bathe, so many were slain defenceless in the evening while they were in their baths. Among the rest was slain Gunhild, sister of Sweyn Forkbeard, who was married to an earl in England named Pallig. They took her and slew her husband before her, and thrust spears through her son so that he died also. She never turned pale, but bore the dreadful sight bravely, and told the English that this deed of theirs would bring great evils on their land also. When she was slain men marvelled that her face was not altered by death, but that she looked as fair as if she were alive.

The massacre of
S. Brice.

6 When Sweyn heard the news of this he was wroth,

and got together a mighty host to avenge her and fulfil the vow which he made once at a great feast that he would drive out Ethelred or die himself. He laid siege to Exeter, and Hugh, the Frenchman, whom queen Emma had set over it (for the king had given it to her as a marriage gift), betrayed it to him, and he took and plundered the city and broke down the wall. Thence he went on to Wessex, where Elfric came against him. Here again was treason, for when the armies were in array Elfric feigned to be suddenly taken ill, and so would do nothing. Sweyn passed by and burned Salisbury, and ravaged the West Saxons' land.

7 But Wolfkettle, alderman of the East English, resisted the Danes in the East. When they broke their promise and would not go away, but left their ships and rode up the country, Wolfkettle ordered men to go to the Danish ships to burn them. Sweyn was just hurrying back to them, when Wolfkettle fell upon him, and there was a hard fight, so that the Danes said they had never had harder work since they came to England, but neither side could beat the other, so they both drew off. But because of the disobedience of Wolfkettle's men the Danish ships were left whole, and the Danes sailed off in them to Denmark.

8 There was a great famine all over England the next year, so that much folk died of hunger, and that famine was long remembered. In 1006 the Danes came again, and went up to a place called Cuckhamsley, far into England, to defy the old prophecy which said that any foe who got as far as that spot should never come back alive. The king and the Wise Men gave them 36,000*l* to go away that year. In these days Elfhag became archbishop, and Elfhelm, the Northumbrian earl of York, was treacherously slain by Eadric, but the king made Eadric earl of the Marchland.

The Scottish king also invaded England, but the earl Utred of Bamborough drove the Scots from Durham, which they had attacked, and slew many of them. He cut off their heads and set them on spikes round the walls of Durham, and gave the two women who washed the heads before they were set up a cow for a reward.

9 In 1008 Ethelred gathered a great fleet again, and ordered that many new ships should be built, and that all those who held land should pay for them, and this seemed good to the Wise Men. Indeed, if Ethelred had always kept a strong fleet like Edgar's he might have often stopped the landing of the Danes. But quarrels broke out, and the chief men fought among themselves. There came too a great storm which destroyed many ships, and some were burnt in the strife (1009), so all the people's trouble was brought to nought. This was the last chance which Ethelred had of beating the Danes, for from now till he fled away to Normandy there was war, and chiefly with Thorkettle, or Thorkell, who came to England with a fleet of pirates, till in 1013 Sweyn came back.

10 Many towns were taken and burnt, and many men were sold into captivity or slain. The good archbishop Elfheg was taken prisoner by Thorkell's host, and they would have him pay a great sum for his ransom, but he said that he would not rob the poor for the sake of himself. They were very angry with him, and one day they brought him to a feast, and after the feast when they were heated with wine they flung at him bones and the heads of the beasts which they had feasted on, till one of them pitying him slew him with a blow of his axe. This happened at Greenwich, so the London people sent for his body, which the Danes gave up to them. It is said that Thorkell offered the soldiers all that he had, except his ships, if

Ethelred's
fleet

Archbishop
Elfheg's
death

they would let Elfhæg go unhurt, but they would not. When Thorkell saw his holy death he went over to Ethelred with forty-five ships and a great host, and served him, for he would no more be with heathen men, and he became a Christian.

Then the king sent Eadric against the Welsh, and he marched through South Wales and lud it waste. And so it always was with Ethelred when the Danes came he would do nothing but buy them off, but he would always be ready to fight with the other princes of Britain who were his own under-kings, with whom he should have been at peace.

II When Sweyn heard that Thorkell had joined Ethelred he was ill pleased. So he came again to England with his son Canute, and they now set about conquering England, according to Sweyn's vow. First he got the men of the North to submit to him. They had never much liked Ethelred, though they had fought hitherto against the Danes when they came as plunderers or settlers to oust them from their homes. Now that Sweyn came with fair promises, wishing to be king of England, they took him as their king. Leaving his son to rule them while he went south, Sweyn rode right across England and over the Marchland and took Winchester, but Thorkell and Ethelred drove him from London. He went on into the far South and took all the West Saxons' land, and now he was king over all England save London. When Ethelred saw that he fled in Thorkell's ships, with his wife and children, to his brother-in-law's court in Normandy, and the people of London took Sweyn for king.

Thorkell stayed with part of his fleet and still took king Ethelred's part, but all he could do was to lay taxes on the English to keep his fleet, so that they liked that ill.

Sweyn Forkbeard was not long king, but died as he was on his way to plunder S Edmundsbury. He thought he saw S Edmund ride against him and smite him because of his evil errand; but no man saw that sight save the king only, who fell off his horse and was never whole again, but died that night in great pain.

12 Then the Wise Men sent over to Ethelred, in Normandy, to ask him to come back. They told him that they would be glad to have him as king again if he would promise to rule them better, and he promised that he would do as they wished in all matters. The Wise Men said that no Danish king should rule England again, but that if any tried he should be held an outlaw, and any man who could might slay him. Yet the chief men of the Danish host chose Canute to be their king, but he was driven out by Ethelred and his brave son Edmund, who was called Ironside, and went away to Denmark. Ethelred gave the Danes who had served him so well under Thorkell a great sum of money, so that men said the Danes were as greedy and evil friends as they were foes.

Ethelred
and Canute
A D 1014

13 In this year there was fought on Good Friday a battle in Ireland, at Clontarf, hard by Dublin, between the Northmen of Dublin and the Western Islands and the head king of Ireland, Brian. There were many heathen among the Northmen, but Brian and his folk were Christians. The Northmen fled before the Irish, and as they fled one of them broke into the tent where Brian was praying for his men, for he was an old man and stricken in years, and there he slew him. So the prophecy was fulfilled which was in men's mouths, that the Northmen should lose the battle, but that Brian should fall. There was a great slaughter, for it was a very high tide, and many men were drowned in the Liffey, which ran very high. This battle also the

Brian's
battle.
A D 1014

Northmen took for a sign that the Christian faith was the best, so after this those who were still heathen turned from their old gods and were baptized

14 In 1015 there was a meeting of the Wise Men at Oxford, and there Eðric wrought another wicked deed

The burning at Oxford He slew the two chiefs of the five great boroughs of the North Marchland, and when their followers fled to the great tower of the minster he set fire to it, and there were they all slain or burnt Eðgyth, the widow of one of the chiefs, was spared, and was set in keeping as a prisoner When Edmund Ironside, the king's son saw her he married her against his father's will, and ruled the Five Boroughs as her husband Eðric is said to have hated Edmund and to have always acted treacherously towards him Now, both Eðric and Utréd had married daughters of Ethelred Eðric and his brothers always advised the king ill, but Utréd helped his brother-in-law Edmund

15 Then Ethelred fell sick, so Eðric led the West Saxons against the Northern English under Edmund

Ethelred's death Soon he went over to Canute, who now came back with a mighty host, and they marched over the land plundering it, while Ethelred was in London doing nothing At last Utréd also joined Canute And soon after Ethelred died

CHAPTER XXIII

EDMUND IRONSIDE

1 THEN the Marchmen chose Edmund king at London, but some of the English chose Canute as king

Edmund and Canute at Southampton Utréd gained little by not staying with Edmund, for Canute sent for him as if he would speak with him, and when he was come

to the king's hall, there suddenly sprang out upon him a band of men who slew him and the men that were with him, forty souls, and his earldom was given to his enemies. Then Edric turned round again and joined Edmund, but was of little use to him. Canute and Edmund fought five pitched battles this year, all along the borders of Wessex, but Edmund nearly always won, for he was both brave and skilful. Once he met Canute in battle and clove his shield in two with his sword. But the fifth battle at Assandun in Essex was the most famous. Both kings were there, and fought each under his own banner. Edmund's was the golden dragon, and Canute's the magic raven. The raven's wings moved in the wind, which the Danes took for a sign of victory, but when the battle was joined the Danes at last gave way before the English, and they would have been defeated entirely, had not Edric with his men left the battle. Then the Danes came on again, and in the end the English were obliged to leave the field to them. In that fight many good men fell, and among them Wolfkettle, the East English alderman, brother-in-law of Edmund.

2 There would have been another battle, but the two kings, by the advice of the Wise Men of England, agreed to make peace, and to divide the kingdom between them. Edmund was to be the head king, and to have the East and South, while

Peace of
Olney
A D 1016.

Canute was to have the Marchland and Northumberland. It is said that the two kings at first agreed that they two should fight alone, to see who should have all England, but, when they had fought a short while Canute offered to share the realm with Edmund, and he agreed thereto, and they exchanged swords and cloaks and were made sworn friends. This peace which was made at Olney-on-Severn, lasted only a short while, for Edmund died suddenly, and men said that Edric slew him by craft.

to gain the favour of Canute, and this was the worst of all his evil deeds

Edmund Ironside was a very big man, bold, quick, persevering and never discouraged, but in one thing he seems to have been foolish, in that he trusted Eadric, the alderman of the Mearc, though he knew what evil deeds he had wrought. Perhaps this was because he could not help it, but was afraid of his going over to Canute again. For though Eadric was so bad he seems to have been very powerful in his own earldom, and he was a man of such guile that Edmund may have thought it better to have him as a friend than as a foe. It is to be remembered too that we only have the story as told by Eadric's enemies. So that after all he may not have been so bad as they would make out. For that he should have been so wicked, and yet so much trusted, it is very hard to believe.

CHAPTER XXIV

CANUTE THE GREAT

I CANUTE began his reign by trying to settle his English kingdom, for of all the kingdoms that he had then and afterwards he loved England best. First he outlawed those of the English blood-royal that were in England, and when the wise men gave him the care of the children of Edmund Ironside he sent them to Sweden, to his half-brother king James. It is said that he asked him to slay them, for he would not slay them himself for the brotherhood that he had sworn with their father. But king James would not, and sent them to Stephen, who was the first Christian king of Hungary, that he might take care of them. And they abode a long time at his court.

Canute and Edmund's children.

2 Canute set earls as governors over the land, but he kept Wessex himself, for there he chiefly lived. He gave the Marchland to Eadric, to Thorkell he gave East England, to Eric, when he had married his sister, he gave Northumberland, and these great men ruled the land under him. But Eadric was angry because the king did not give him more power, and it is said that he told the king that he had slain Edmund Ironside for his sake. When Canute heard these words he bade his followers slay Eadric, saying that he who had betrayed his lord for lands and gold would never be faithful to him. So Eadric was slain in the king's sight, and was cast out of the window into the river that ran below. Men held that Canute had done very rightly, for through the evil deeds of Eadric many good men had met their death, and he was so crafty and powerful that he was able to do much evil. Canute also soon sent Thorkell from England into Denmark, for he was so great a man that he feared lest he should do evil.

3 In the same year, 1017, Canute sent to Normandy and asked the duke to give him Emma, Ethelred's widow, in marriage, for she had fled thither with her children. He did so, and Emma came back and was again Lady of the English, and she bore Canute two children, Gunhild and Hardi-Canute. Gunhild married king Henry, who was afterwards made Emperor, but Hardi-Canute became king.

4 Canute now set two Englishmen in power, who became very famous men, Leofric and Godwin. Leofric was made earl of the Marchmen, and Godwin was made earl of Wessex, under the king. Leofric was a good man, and tried to bring about peace in England whenever the great men fell out. Godwin was a very wise man, and became the greatest

man in England next the king, and his sons became earls as well as himself. Canute was so pleased at his wisdom and bravery in a war which he had in the Baltic, one time when he was away from England, that he singled him out and trusted him with an earldom.

5 Canute was not only king of England and Denmark but he also drove out the king of Norway, and was chosen king there also, and over the Swedish king his will had great weight. The Scots also acknowledged him as their overlord, but he had to make war with them for attacking England while he was away at Rome. Then they made peace and submitted to his commands.

Canute's
mighty
power

6 Canute went twice to Rome, it is said, to atone for his evil deeds. While he was there in 1027 he wrote a long letter home to the English people, in which he told them all about his journey and the kings whom he had met, and how he had spoken with the Pope. He also promised to rule them well, and never take money unjustly from them, and to make all his great men do right also. He said too that he had never spared any trouble for his people's good, and that he never would. These promises he fulfilled, for though he had done some cruel things to the great men he had never done harm to his people since he was made king. He set good laws very strictly against all evildoers, so that in after-days his name became famous as a law-giver. To the Church he was very open-handed, and he gave a splendid altar covering, embroidered with peacocks, to Glastonbury, where the body of King Edmund Ironside lay. He built a church at Assandun, and set Stigand, who afterwards became a famous man, to pray and preach in it. This he did as a token of thankfulness and remembrance of the battle that he had fought there. Canute was a great friend of the monks also.

Canute's
rule.

It is said that when Emma's brother was dead his son, duke Robert, who soon after reigned in Normandy, gathered together a fleet to conquer England, drive out Canute, and put on the throne Emma's two sons, who were still in Normandy, but the weather was bad, and such of the ships as were not destroyed were obliged to put back

7 Canute was a little man, but strong of body, and exceeding wise and crafty, so that no man knew his real mind. He was very good to strangers, but Canute's
character careful of his money, and not fond of useless spending, for he was not willing to burden his people. He was more loved by the English than by the Danes, for he set Englishmen, and not Danes, as earls in England, and he would not suffer the Danes to spoil England, as they wished, but he ruled as an English king and not like a foreign conqueror. He was fond of music and singing, and made verses. One day while he was being rowed in his barge to Ely he heard the song of the monks at their service in the minster ringing across the water, so he made a song —

e°

Merry the monks of Ely sing
As by them rows Canute the King—
Row, men, to the land more near,
That we these good monks song may hear

Other verses also he put to it, and this song was held in remembrance by the monks of Ely, for he was a good friend to them and gave them many gifts

He was a very godly man at the end of his reign. It is told of him that one day he ordered his chair to be set on the sand by the sea when it was low water. When the tide began to rise he spoke to the sea and forbade it to rise, but the water rose till it washed round his chair and wetted his feet and garments. Then he

arose and said to those that were with him, 'Though kings be mighty and rule wide realms yet will not the seas obey them, therefore to God alone be honour and praise, for he rules all things, and the wind and the seas obey Him' This he did as an example, lest men should honour man and forget God who made them And never after that day would he wear his crown, but he set it on the head of the image of Jesus on the Cross that was in the old church at Winchester

Canute was very fond of hunting, and made laws that no man should hunt in the lands which were under the care of the king

8 Canute kept a great many men always about him, like a little army, and men came from all the North lands to serve in his guards, so that there were not in all the world at that time such soldiers as they He made rules for them also that all things might be done in order, and it was by help of this guard that he was able to do such great deeds in war He sent to Denmark many English priests, who taught his own people several English customs which he thought would be useful to them, for the English were not so rude a folk as the Danes were

Canute's
guards and
priests

CHAPTER XXV

HAROLD HAKTOD and HARDI-CANUTE

1 CANUTE had two other sons besides Hardi-Canute, Harold, called Harefoot for his swiftness, and Sweyn, but Emma was not their mother He divided his kingdoms among the three To Sweyn he gave Norway, and to Hardi-Canute, Denmark, but he gave England to Harold When Canute was dead it

Canute's
sons

was not at all sure what men would do, for Godwin and Emma and the English in the South were for Hardi-Canute, but the men of the North and Leofric and the seamen of London, who were most of them Danes, would have Harold for their king, as Canute had wished. It was settled at last, by Leofric's advice, that Harold should rule in the North, and Hardi-Canute in the South. But Hardi-Canute stayed in Denmark, and his mother and Godwin ruled for him in England.

2 Next year, 1036, Alfred and Edward the Ethelings, sons of Ethelred, came to England out of Normandy, and a train of Normans with them. It is not certain why they came, for their mother loved The death of Alfred Hardi-Canute rather than them. Some say it was to gain the kingdom of the south part of England, as Hardi-Canute was away. But Godwin stopped them, and Alfred was seized by some men of Harold, who blinded him and brought him to Ely, where he died, and his men they slew cruelly with torments. But his mother sent Edward back to Normandy. It was said that both Godwin and Emma had a hand in this evil deed, though it was done by Harold's men. And there was a song made about it which says no darker deed had been done in England since the Danes came.

3 At last men grew weary of waiting for Hardi-Canute, and his mother was not much liked, so the South English also chose Harold as their king, and drove Emma out of England. She went to Emma banished. A D 1037 Flanders, where Baldwin ruled, and he received her kindly, and thither came her son Hardi-Canute to visit her. Not long after this Harold died (1040), and the great men of England sent messengers to Flanders to pray Hardi-Canute to come and reign over them, and he came over, and was crowned king, and he brought his mother back with him.

4. Hardi-Canute did not reign long. He was a very stern king, and not much liked, save by those about his court, for he kept great state, and gave them all four meals a day. He ordered the body of his brother to be dug up and cast out into a sewer, that he might dishonour it as much as he could. A heavy tax was laid upon England to pay for the Danes of the fleet which he brought with him.

At that time Godwin was accused of having caused the death of Alfred the Etheling, but he denied it on oath, and most of the great men took an oath that they believed him guiltless. So nothing was done to him, and he gave the king a great ship as a gift, that he might not bear any anger against him. It was beautifully painted and gilt, in it were eighty soldiers, clothed in red, with gold rings on their arms and gilt helmets on their heads, and on one shoulder they bore a Danish axe (for the Danes at that time used to fight with great axes, which they wielded with both hands), and in their right hand a spear of iron. Round about the ship were laid their shields, painted and gilt. This was the finest ship that had been seen in England since the ship that Harold Fairhair sent to Ethelstan.

The king sent his guard to gather in the tax which had been laid upon England, but the people at Worcester rose against them and slew two of them. When the king heard it he was very angry, and bade Godwin and Leofric and Siward, the Danish earl of the North, for earl Eric was now dead, ravage Worcester. So they burnt the city, but they let the people go.

Soon after this Hardi-Canute sent for his half-brother Edward to come to England to live with him and his mother, and he came over.

One day king Hardi-Canute went to the wedding feast of one of his great men, and while he was standing

up to drink he was seized with an illness, and fell to the earth and never spoke word more

He was a king of whom we know very little, and not much good. Neither he nor his brother Harold left any children.

CHAPTER XXVI

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

I WHEN Hardi-Canute died, Edward, his half-brother, was chosen king. This was chiefly done by the help of Godwin and his men, for some would have had Sweyn, king of Denmark, cousin of Hardi-Canute, as king. Many of those who had been against Edward were outlawed when he became king. Edward took away a good part of his mother Emma's riches because she had not helped him in his need, but he suffered her to live quietly at Winchester. She was a greedy woman and could not bear to part with her money, and she had always disliked her son Edward, because of the hatred she bore to his father Ethelred, her first husband.

Edward's
first years of
rule.

In 1045 Edward married Edith Godwin's daughter, and thus bound himself closer to the house of Godwin. At this time the three greatest men in England were Godwin, Leofric, and Siward the Big, the earl of Northumberland, and they ruled all England under the king. But Edward did not long remain friendly to the house of Godwin, for he was too fond of foreigners, and especially of the Normans, and from this arose great trouble afterwards.

There was now reigning in Norway king Magnus, who had been a friend of Hardi-Canute. They two had agreed that whichever of them died first the other should have his kingdom. When Magnus got neither

Denmark nor England he was angry and gathered a great fleet to come to England, but Sweyn, the Danish king stopped him, so the English fleet which Edward had summoned had nothing to do

2. Godwin had many children, and of these the two eldest, Sweyn and Harold, were now earls in England,

Earl Harold over the East English, and Sweyn
Sweyn's over the West border over against the Welsh.
cousin

Sweyn kept his earldom well, and defeated the Welsh when they attacked the English, but in 1046 he took the abbess of Leominster away from her abbey and wished to marry her. This shocked people very much, because it was against the laws of the Church, so he was forced to leave England and went off to Flanders, and his earldom was given to Harold his brother, and to his cousin Biorn or Bear, brother of Sweyn king of Denmark, who had had an earldom in the middle of England. After he had been away but a little while he came home and prayed the king to forgive him and give him back his earldom. But Harold and Biorn would not give up the rule of it to him, so the king would not let him stay in England. Then Sweyn enticed Biorn to come on board his ship and go with him to plead for him to the king. But when Biorn was on board he slew him. For this evil deed Sweyn was outlawed by all the people, and most of his friends forsook him. And Harold had Biorn buried in great honour. But Sweyn repented of the treacherous deed that he had done in his wrath, and the good bishop Elared prayed the king and the Wise Men to forgive him so he was inlawed, and his earldom was given back to him.

3. Now, Sweyn king of Denmark and king Edward
King Sweyn were friends, for they were related through
of Denmark the house of Godwin, and Sweyn had helped Edward against Magnus, but king Magnus gathered

another great host against Sweyn, so that he was hard put to it to hold his own. So he sent to pray Edward to help him. Godwin spoke for his kinsmen, and would have fifty ships sent, but Leofric and most of the Wise Men were against this. So no help was sent to Sweyn, but when Henry, the Emperor, quarrelled with Baldwin of Flanders, the English sent him help. Sweyn was driven from his kingdom, but Magnus died not long after, and his uncle Harold Hardrada (the stern of counsel), who had reigned with him part of his reign, reigned alone in his stead. Then Sweyn soon got back his kingdom.

4 In Wales about this time there were two great kings called Griffith, who were nearly always fighting against each other and against the English. While Sweyn Godwin's son was away, the Welsh and Eldred South Welsh king joined the fleet of the Danish sea-rovers and made a raid into England. But Eldred gathered together against them all the men who dwelt on the border, but the Welsh that were with him turned upon him and joined their brethren when the battle began, and he was defeated and most of his men slain.

5 In 1050, Edward made Robert a Norman monk, archbishop of Canterbury. He had before been bishop of London. He was a great foe to Godwin and his house, so that he filled the ears of the king with stories against them. By his advice many Normans were set in bishoprics and high places in England. They did no good, but built castles and strongholds, that they might be safe against any attack from the English, and could oppress them as they would.

One day the king's brother-in-law Eustace, who was a Frenchman, had been to see the king, and was riding back to the sea to pass over to his own earldom of Boulogne. When he and his men came to Dover

they behaved lawlessly and wished to make the townsmen lodge them where they would. And one of them struck a townsman. Then a fight began, and many were slain on either side, but at last the men of Dover drove them out of the town. Then Eustace rode back to the king and complained of the Dover folk, and told the story his own way. The king was very angry, and bade Godwin the earl go and punish them. But Godwin said he would not till they also had been heard, and he told the king that the Frenchmen ought to be punished. Then the king sent for Leofric and Siward, and Godwin summoned his folk, and it was like to have come to a battle between the two armies. But Leofric thought it better that the Wise Men should be called together to settle the matter. When the Wise Men met they outlawed Sweyn again, and called Godwin and Harold, his son, to come alone before them, but they would not come unless safe-conducts were given them. So the Wise Men outlawed Godwin and his kin. Then Godwin, Sweyn, and Gurth, his sons, went to Flanders, where Tostig, another son of his, had just been married to Judith, Baldwin's daughter. But Harold went to Ireland, to Dermot, king of Leinster, a great friend of the house of Godwin. And Edward sent his wife, Godwin's daughter, into a nunnery, and Harold's earldom he gave to Elfgar Leofric's son.

6 While Godwin was away William duke of Normandy came to visit Edward in England, and the king, who was childless, is said then to have promised him the kingdom at his death. This William came to the dukedom when he was but seven years old, after his father Robert who died while he was away on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He had hard work to keep his dukedom when he was young, for the Norman nobles were very proud and restless, and looked down on him because his mother was the daughter

William of
Normandy
in England

of a tanner And when he grew older, his neighbour the king of France coveted his duchy, though at first he had helped him, because he thought he could do as he liked seeing that William was so young But by his great skill and bravery he had overcome all his foes, and was now one of the greatest men of the age He was very tall and strong, and a strict but just ruler, who had the gift of choosing good men for his servants, unlike Edward in this He was very good to the Church, and built splendid minsters But he was very stern, and when he wished anything he would have it, and recked of no man or thing that stood in his way He was very fond of hunting, and passed as much of his time as he could spare in that sport. He was a great archer, and his bow few men but he could bend In this taste Edward was like him, for though he was a pious man he thought more of hunting than anything else but the Church

7 Things went ill while Godwin was away Griffith of North Wales broke into England and did much damage, and Harold ravaged the South coast. At last Godwin and Harold gathered a great ^{Godwin} ^{inlawed} fleet and sailed to London, and the king gathered all the men he could against them. But Stigand proposed as before that the Wise Men should judge between them They inlawed Godwin and his kin, and the queen was taken back by the king But Robert the Norman and the Frenchmen, whom Edward loved, took horse when they heard this news and rode through London, cutting and hewing at all in their way till they got to the river, then they took ship and went to Normandy Stigand was made archbishop in Robert's room, for he was a great friend of Godwin But Robert was very angry at this, and never ceased complaining to the Pope and the duke and the princes abroad of the loss which he had suffered And as he told the story his own way many

thought the English had done wrong and that they were impious folk.

8 Soon after this, in 1053, it is said that Godwin was sitting at meat with the king, and the king was being served by Harold and Tosig, Godwin's sons. One of them slipped, and the other helped him. Then said Godwin, 'So brother helps brother'. But the king said, Godwin's death 'My brother would have helped me hadst thou not slain him'. And Godwin said, 'If I slew thy brother or had a hand in his death may this piece of bread choke me'. Then he broke a piece of bread and put it in his mouth, but it stuck in his throat and choked him, and he fell down and never spoke again. And all men marvelled that the words which he had spoken were fulfilled. Then the king bade them cast his body out like a dog for his false oath and his evil deed. But this story is told by the Normans, who hated Godwin, and it is not likely to be true. The English mourned greatly for Godwin, for he upheld England and did right while he ruled, and advised the king well, and he hated the foreigners, whom they also hated. Now that he was dead all men's eyes were turned to Harold, and he was made earl of Wessex after his father, and had the greatest power all Edward's days, so that no man did anything against his will, and he advised the king well.

9 In those days Macbeth slew king Duncan and became king of all Scotland in his place. But Duncan's kin went to Siward the Big, who received them well, and fought for Malcolm against Macbeth. In the end Macbeth was slain, and Malcolm Big-head became king of Scotland. In 1055 Siward died. When he felt that his death was near he arose from his bed and called for his coat of mail, and put it on, and took his sword in his hand, and died so, sitting in his chair, for he said he would not die like a cow, but like a soldier in mail. His

earldom was given to Tostig Godwin's son, for Waltheof the Big, Siward's only living son, was as yet a child

10 About this time earl Elfgar, son of Leofric, was twice outlawed, and twice he got the Welsh king to join him in attacking England. But peace was made by his father, who soon after died, and Griffith, king of Wales, married Elfgar's daughter Judith. Earl Harold was at this time on a pilgrimage to Rome. The Welsh.

And now Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, and his children came home to England. But he died soon after he landed, and his children were brought up by the king.

In 1063 there was a great war with Griffith, the Welsh king, who was now king of all Wales, for he would not keep the peace, but plundered the English border, so Harold and Tostig went against him with a fleet and an army. At last they beat him, and he bowed to the English king. But his own folk slew him soon after because of the trouble he had brought upon them. His head and the prow of his ship were sent to king Edward, and his realm was given to his brothers, and they swore to be faithful to the English king.

11 About this time Harold was out in a ship with his brother, and was driven to the coast of France. The earl of the place where he was wrecked put him in prison. But William, the Norman duke, made the earl set Harold free, and brought him to his court. There he stayed some while and helped William in his war against the people of Brittany. And William made him swear that he would help him to be king of England when Edward died, and Harold had to swear this, for he was in William's power. Harold at Duke William's court.

12 Soon Tostig and the Northumbrians fell out, for they were a very wild and lawless folk, and Tostig was over-stern, and at last slew some of them at a feast to which he bade them. So the men of Earl Tostig outlawed.

Northumberland chose MORCAR Elfgar's son to be their earl in Tostig's stead. Then Tostig went to king Edward, to pray for his help. For Edward and Edith loved him best of all the house of Godwin. And Edwin, Morcar's brother, who had succeeded his father Elfgar in his earldom, brought an army of Marchmen and Welshmen to help Morcar. Harold tried to make peace, and get the Northumberland men who had marched South to take back Tostig, but they would not. When the Wise Men judged the matter they outlawed Tostig, and he went away to Baldwin, his father-in-law, but Edward was very wroth at this.

13 In 1066 Edward died, and he was buried in Westminster Abbey, which he had built. And all men held him in great respect, and he was called *Confessor* for his zeal for the Church.

Edward was a handsome man and of goodly presence, his hair and his beard were white as snow. He was very pious, and did his best to rule well, and in his days England was mighty and at peace from foreign foes. But he was weak and often took bad advice, he was quick-tempered also, and through this sometimes unjust. Yet men loved his memory, for they remembered the good days when he was a king in the evil days that fell on England after his death.

CHAPTER XXVII

HAROLD GODWIN'S SON

1 BEFORE Edward died he advised the Wise Men to choose Harold king after him, and they did so, and Eldred, archbishop of York, crowned him. Soon after he married Griffith's widow, the sister of Edwin and Morcar. When William heard all this he was so angry that he could hardly speak, for he remembered the

promise of king Edward and the oath that Harold had sworn. And he determined to be king of England and thrust Harold out. So he persuaded his nobles to join him, and he fitted out a large fleet and hired soldiers from all parts till he had a large army. And he sent to the Pope and told him how Harold had broken his oaths. Also, he promised the Pope great gifts and much gold when he became king of England, if he would bless his enterprise. The Pope, hearing these things and the complaints of Robert, and all the evil stories that the Normans told of the English and the house of Godwin, blessed William's undertaking and sent him a holy banner.

Harold, also, gathered a large fleet to defend England, and it is said that the two fleets fought a battle, and that the English drove the Normans back.

2 When Harold was made king, Tostig went to William to ask help to get back his earldom, which Harold would not give him. But William would promise nothing, so he went on to the king of Sweden and prayed him to try and conquer England, as his kinsman Canute had done. But Sweyn said he had much ado to keep Denmark. Then Tostig sent to Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, and prayed him to try and conquer England, which had been promised to his nephew Magnus. Harold Hardrada at last consented, though some of his great men advised him not to try this great deed and jeopard his life and kingdom, for they said the guard of Harold Godwin's son were the best soldiers in the world, and that one of them was as good as any two other men.

3 King Harold Hardrada was a very famous warrior, he had fought by the side of his brother when he was only fourteen, and was wounded in the great battle where he fell. He had passed a great part of his youth in Russia, where kings of Swedish blood

Tostig and
Kings of
Denmark
and
Norway

Harold
Hardrada

then ruled. Afterwards he had gone into the service of the Emperor of the East at Constantinople and had commanded his guards. He had been to Jerusalem also, and fought with the heathen in the Mediterranean, and had slain a great snake or crocodile. He was wise as well as brave, a good poet and a good speaker, and so strong and big of body that there were few men his match. He was also very rich, for he had brought great spoil from his sea roving, and he got great wealth while he served the Emperor of the East.

4 Harold, with a great fleet, set sail for the Orkneys, and Tostig met him off Northumberland. They landed at the Tyne-mouth, a mighty host. Then Edwin and Morcar met them, but Harold beat them in a fierce fight, and the men of York then made peace with him.

But when Harold Godwin's son heard of this he gathered his guard and such men as he could and Stamford
Bridge. marched north up the Roman Way against his brother and the king of Norway. He came on them unawares, as most of the Northmen were at their ships, and those that were with the king and Tostig had not their coats of mail on, for the day was very hot. When the English host came in sight Tostig counselled Harold to go back to the ships to the rest of the army and fight the English there. But Harold Hardrada would not give way, but he sent messengers to the fleet to bid Eystein bring up his men. Then he rode through his host on a black horse and set his men in array. As he rode his horse slipped and he fell, but he got up citing a verse from an old song, 'A fall is lucky for a traveller'. But when Harold Godwin's son saw him fall and knew who it was, he said, 'That is a big man and fair of face, but his luck has left him'. Then he and a few men with him rode between the two hosts up to the Northmen's army, and called out, 'Is Tostig Godwin's

son here?" And Tostig came forth. Then he said, 'Harold offers Tostig peace and a third of his kingdom, for he would not that brother should fight brother.' Tostig answered, 'What shall be given to Harold of Norway for his journey hither?' And Harold said, 'Seven feet of English ground, or a foot over, for he is taller than other men.' But Tostig answered, 'It shall never be said that Tostig left his friends in the lurch for the offers of his foes. We will either win England by our swords or die here like men.' Now, Harold Hardrada was by them and heard all that was said, and he asked who it was that spoke so well. Tostig told him, 'It was my brother Harold.' Then said the king, 'If I had known this he should not have gone back to tell of our folks' death.' But Tostig said, 'He did unwisely in this, but I might not betray my brother who offered me such great things, and I would rather that he should slay me than I him, if one of us two must die.' Harold Hardrada said to them that were with him, 'That was a little man, but he sat well in his stirrups.' Then he put on his coat of mail and took his sword in both hands, and stood in front of his banner, which was called Land Waster. And the English fell upon the Northmen, but they kept their array till the fight waxed so fierce that they grew too eager and broke their ranks. Then the English drove them back to the River Derwent behind them, and they fell back across the river as well as they could. And the English pressed hard on them. But one Northman kept the bridge against the English till most of his fellows were across, and many Englishmen he slew, till one got under the bridge and thrust up a spear through the plank, and it struck him under the belt, and then he fell. When the English got over the bridge, the Northmen formed up again, and king Harold Hardrada went in front of his host, and fought so fiercely that no man

could stand before him, for he slew all that he could strike at. At last an arrow hit him in the throat over his mail coat, and that was his death-wound. Then Tostig went up to the banner in his place. Harold Godwin's son again offered his brother peace and quarter to the Northmen. But they all cried out, 'We will take no peace from the English, but rather fall one man over another where we stand.' And now Eystein came up from the ships and the fiercest fight began, and the English were hard put to it, till the Northmen grew so wroth that they threw down their shields and fought like madmen. But the English kept cool and fought on warily, and at last when Tostig and the chief men were slain the Northmen gave way and fled to their ships. And it was now evening. Next day Harold Godwin's son made peace with Harold's sons. Then they put to sea and went back home. And Harold king of England went to York and kept a feast there.

5 Four days after this battle William landed with all his host at Pevensey, for the English fleet was up North
 William's landing with Harold. He set up a castle of wood at Hastings and ravaged the land all round. When news of this was brought to Harold, he marched South to London with his guard, bidding Edwin and Morcar gather their men and follow him. But they held back, for they thought that if Harold was slain they would share England with William. Then Harold gathered the men of Kent and of London and many country folk, and marched from London to Senlac, near Hastings, and lay on the hill there by a hoar apple tree. There were with him Gurth and Leofwin, his brothers, and most of his kin. Gurth begged Harold to lay waste the land, that William might not get food or march on, and then go back himself to London and gather forces there and leave him to fight William, instead of Harold, because

of the oath which Harold had sworn. But Harold said, 'I was made king to cherish this folk, how shall I lay waste this land of theirs? Nor does it befit an English king to turn from his foes. But thy advice is wise.'

6 Now, William and his men lay in the open land below. And both hosts made ready for the fight that was to be fought on the morrow. The Eng- Battle of Hastings.lish spent the night watching by their fires, singing merrily, and eating and drinking. The Normans did not feast, but Odo, bishop of Bayeux, William's brother, went through the host praying with the men. On the morrow both hosts were set in array. Harold had made a strong pale of stakes along the front of his line, and in the centre, by his two standards (the golden dragon of England, and his own with the image of a fighting man on it) he set his guard and the men of Kent and London. They were all armed in coats of mail, and had great two-handed axes and broadswords and javelins. But at the back and sides of the hill he put his worst soldiers and the country folk, who were ill-armed with darts and slings and clubs. The English all fought on foot, as was the custom in the North. Harold bade his men keep the pale and drive off their enemies, but he told them not to leave their posts, or the Normans would get inside and drive them off the hill.

William set his men in order also. In the midst he and his brother were with the Norman knights, all on horseback, clad in coats of mail, with long lances in their hands, and broadswords by their sides, there too was the banner which the Pope had hallowed. In front were the archers, of whom he had a great many, but they were on foot. On the right he put the French knights who were with him, and on the left the men of Brittany, for he was over-lord of Brittany. The first man that began the attack was a Norman minstrel, who rode up against

the English, throwing up his sword and catching it, and singing a war-song of Charles the Great Emperor's mighty deeds. He slew two Englishmen who came forth against him before he was slain himself. Then the battle was joined. The Normans charged up against the English, but the English kept the pile and cut down man and horse with their great axes. In vain the Normans tried twice over to break their line. Then they began to give back, and men cried out that William was slain, but he threw off his helmet, that all might know him and cried, 'I live, and will yet win the day by God's help.' And he and his brother Odo again got their men in array and charged again up the hill. William and Odo fought ever foremost, and at last they got close up to the English standards. Gurth threw a spear at William, which missed him and slew his horse. But William slew Gurth with his sword, there fell also Leofwin, his brother, and many Normans and English. But the Normans got on best to the right, for there they broke down the pile.

Then William, to make the English leave their post, ordered his men to pretend to flee. And when the English saw them turn they disobeyed Harold and rushed down after them, leaving the hill bare. Then the Normans turned and smote them in the open field and pressed on to the hill-top, where Harold and his guard were nearly alone, but though they were now fighting on level ground they could not drive back Harold and his guards. So William ordered his archers to shoot up into the air, that the arrows might fall upon the English, for they could not use their shields, as they had both hands to their axes. One arrow struck Harold in the eye, and he fell dying at the foot of his standard. Then the Normans made a last rush, beat off the English and broke down the standards, and Eustace and three other knights slew Harold as he lay on the ground and mangled his body. But the

English drew off fighting to the last, and many of the Normans that followed them were slain, for they turned on them in a swampy place, where their horses were of no use

7 William pitched his tent among the dead on the height where the standards had stood, and his host stayed there all night. Next day there came ^{Harold's} many English women to bury their dead, ^{burial.} for William gave them leave, but though Harold's mother offered its weight in gold for his body he would not give it her. But when it was found mangled under a heap of dead by an English lady—Edith Swan's-neck, whom Harold had dearly loved—he bade them bury it under a stone-heap on the cliffs, for he said, 'He kept the shore well while he lived, let him keep it now he is dead.'

So fell the last Old-English king fighting against the foreigners. And after a while William was chosen king of the English, for there was no man now that could withstand his might, and Edgar, the son of Edward Etheling, Edmund Ironside's son, whom some would have made king, was hardly old or wise enough to rule, even if they could have driven out William.

Harold was a strong, handsome, and accomplished man. Like his father he was a good soldier, a good speaker, and a good man of business. As Edward's minister he was much beloved by the English for his good rule and the way in which he put down the Welsh and forced them into peace. But, like his father, he did not get on well with the Church, for he disliked Edward's foreign priests and bishops, and did not favour the monks. It shows what a good ruler the English must have thought him that they made him king, though he was not of the royal blood of the West-Saxon kings who sprung from Cerdic, but only of kin to the Danish kings.

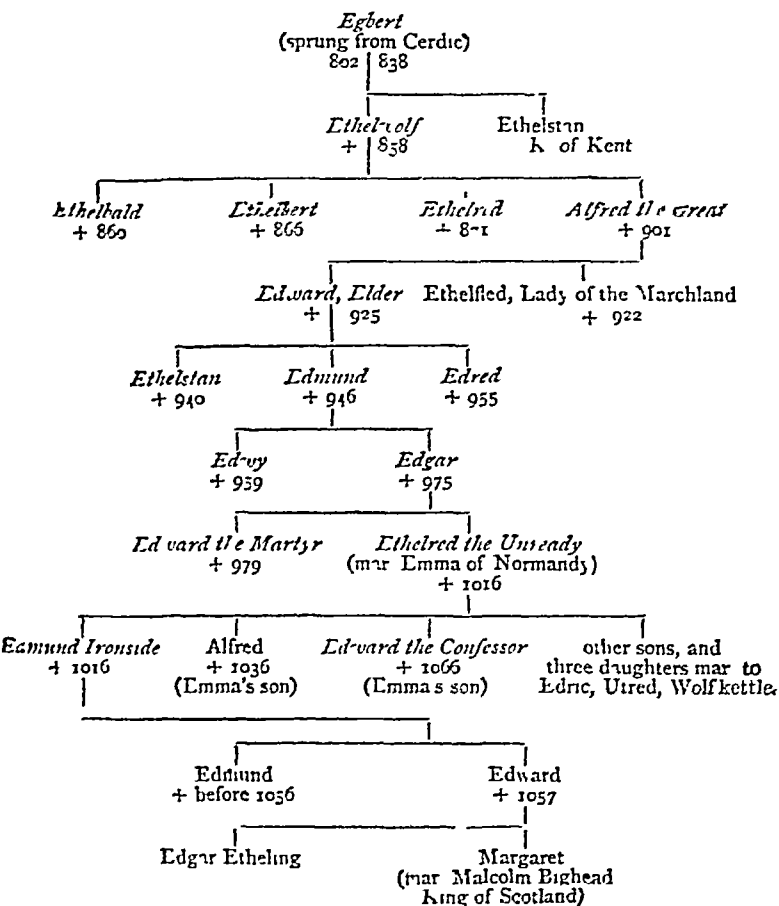
8 We have brought the History of England and the English folk down through six hundred years. And we see that our forefathers were very like the English of to-day. There was the lord, like the squire and rich folk of to-day; and the yeoman, like our farmer, and the thralls and landless men, like our labourers and workmen. There were traders too, for the English under their later kings began to go abroad much more and trade with other lands.

The cities, also, by the time of the Norman Conquest, were filled with folk, for the English as they became less rude began to live in towns, and to trade more with foreign countries. Moreover, the coming of the Danes and the forming of the great empire of Canute on the coasts of the North Sea had brought the English to take more to the sea and a seafaring life, which they had given over a good deal when they came and settled in England. The Danes who settled here were great sailors, and at London there were many of them, so that it soon became the mightiest city in England.

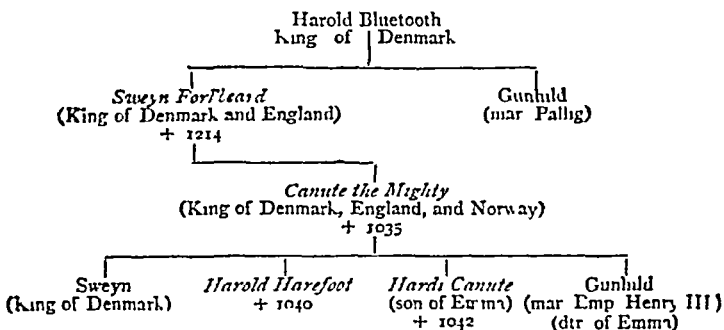
There were parish priests in every village, and besides these there were many houses of monks, so that the Christian religion had quite as much power as it has to-day, and perhaps more.

But the great change that took place during the time we have written of is, that the Englishman became the citizen of a great nation instead of merely the member of a tribe, that he was learning to care not only for the welfare of his family, and his tribe but for the good of the whole state and of every other Englishman.

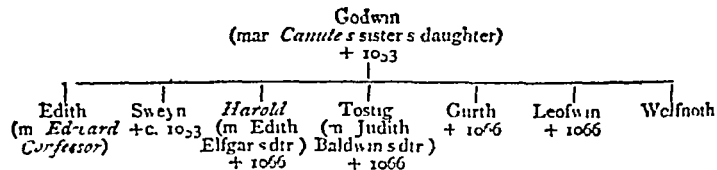
KINGS OF ENGLAND.



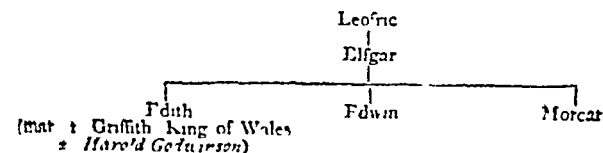
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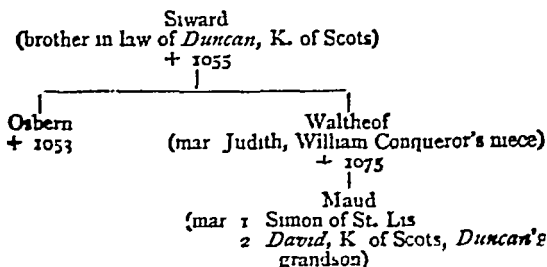
THE HOUSE OF GODWIN



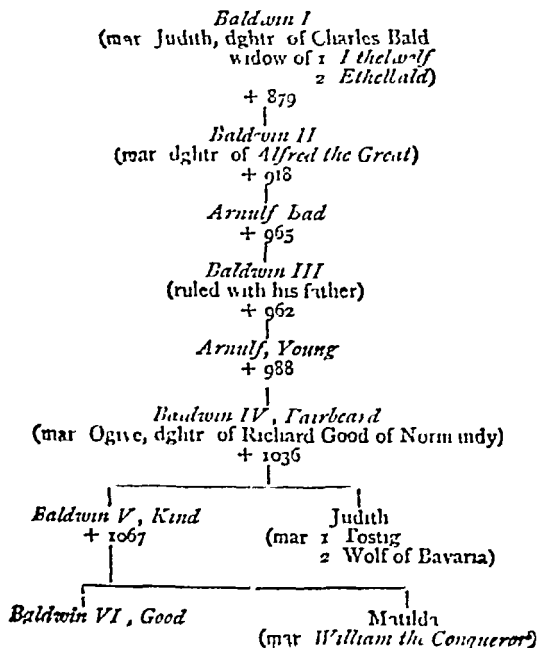
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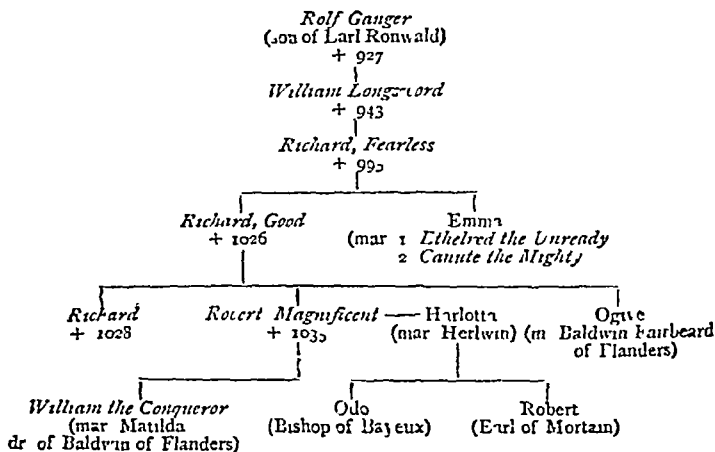
THE HOUSE OF SIWARD.



THE HOUSE OF FLANDERS.



THE HOUSE OF NORMANDY



BOOK II.

ENGLAND A CONTINENTAL POWER.

INTRODUCTION

DURING the years which we are going to talk about England went through great changes. She grew very powerful, and gained a strong government, and order was made to reign in the land. To see how this came about we shall have to notice—

Important
points in
this epoch

✓ 1 *What the Norman Conquest did for England*—We shall see that much good came to England from the Normans, even though at first they treated the people hardly and cruelly. They gave the English new life, and the Norman kings, though harsh and stern, loved order and good government, and knew how to make wise laws.

✓ 2 *How the Conqueror and his sons kept the Barons from gaining too great power*—This is a very important point. It shows us why the history of England and the history of France are so different. In France the

barons were almost as powerful as the king himself, and treated the people very harshly, but in England the barons were not allowed to grow too powerful, and when in after-times they wanted to go against the king they had to get the help of the people, and so they had to treat the people as friends

3 *How the English and Normans became one people*—The Normans did not drive out the English, as the English had driven out the Britons, but they mixed with them and became one people, and what was good and strong in them made the English people greater and stronger than they had been before

4 *How the kings made order and good government in the land*—The Norman kings did not make sudden changes in the government of the land. They made use of what seemed to them good in the English customs and laws, but they brought in many new ways of government, for they knew more about law than the English did. They ordered things wisely and firmly, and began to build up our present laws and ways of government on the old foundation, on which they have slowly risen since that time

5 *What steps the people made towards governing themselves*—At first sight it will seem as if the people themselves had very little power, and as if the kings had things all their own way. But we shall see that the Norman kings had to keep up the old English forms of freedom. At first these were only forms, but in time the people grew stronger, and learnt how to make them something more. The people grew so strong that when King John tried to govern badly and treat them unjustly, they were able to make him promise them good government. He had to sign the Great Charter, to which Englishmen have always looked back as one of the great steps in the growth of their liberties.

CHAPTER I

SETTLEMENT AFTER THE CONQUEST.

1 WILLIAM, Duke of Normandy, had won the battle of Hastings, but still he did not wish to come before the English as a conqueror. He claimed to be William after the battle of Hastings. rightful heir of Edward the Confessor, and he thought that now that Harold was dead, the English would crowd to his camp and hail him as their king. But no one came. The chief of the English met in London and chose for their king Edgar the Atheling, the grandson of Edmund Ironside, who was a mere boy.

2 William did not march direct on London. He wanted to frighten the English, to show them his power and make them feel their weakness, that they Submission of London. might own him for their king themselves. He marched first to Romney, and as he marched his soldiers spread havoc round their path. At Romney we read, 'he took what vengeance he would for the slaughter of his men.' Next he marched to Dover, and that strong fortress yielded without a blow. He stayed there eight days, and went on to Canterbury and Winchester, and made them submit to him, so that London stood alone. London was very helpless, for the great Earls of the Marchland and of Northumberland, Edwin and Morcar, had gone away to their earldoms, and there was no strong man left in the city. At last the chief men came out, and Edgar the Atheling with them, and met William at Berkhamstead. They bent humble knees to him and

begged him to be their king. So William accepted the crown, and promised to be their loving lord.

3 William entered London as the chosen king of the English. On Christmas day he was crowned in the Abbey at Westminster by the Archbishop of York. When the Archbishop turned to the crowd gathered in the Abbey and asked whether they would have William for their king, they shouted 'Yea, yea, King William!' So loud was their shouting, that the Norman soldiers who stood outside thought they meant some evil, and set fire to the houses round the Abbey. The English rushed out to save their homes, and none were left within but William and the trembling bishops. In haste and fear the crowning was finished. Meanwhile there was fighting and bloodshed between the Normans and English when William most wished for peace.

Though William was now the crowned king of the English, very little of the land was really in his power. He had only subdued the South-eastern shires. But little by little the English from other parts came to bow before him and own him for their king, and the great Earls Edwin and Morcar came with the rest. He let all those who submitted to him take back from his hands their lands and possessions. But he seized the lands of all those who had fallen in the battle of Hastings, for he looked upon them as traitors who had fought against their rightful king. He gave these lands as rewards to his own Norman followers.

4. Only three months after he had been crowned, he felt so sure of his position that he dared to leave England and go back to his own duchy of Normandy. He wanted to show his people his new power and to fetch his wife, whom he dearly loved. He took with him some of the chief of the English, so

William
visits
Normandy

that he might be sure they did no mischief whilst he was away, and he took much spoil of gold and silver and gorgeous robes. The Normans wondered and rejoiced when they saw these things, for the English had much gold and silver, and knew how to work it very cleverly. The English women too were very skilful with their needle, and William brought home much of their beautiful embroidery, which he gave to the churches and monasteries in Normandy.

5 But whilst William was away troubles began to arise in England. He had left his most trusted friend William FitzOsborne and his half-brother ^{Risings of} Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, to rule in his name. ^{the English} They treated the people harshly, and made them hate the Norman rule, so that everywhere risings against William were planned.

In 1067 William had to come back to put down these risings. We shall see that in his reign he had three great struggles before he could make his power really strong. (1) the struggle with the native English, (2) the struggle with his own Norman barons, who wanted more power than he would give them, (3) the struggle against his own sons, who rebelled against him.

Till 1071 William had to struggle against the English. They gave him a great deal of trouble, but they could not really put his power in danger, for they had no union amongst themselves, and fought with no plan.

6 In 1069 Swend, King of Denmark, sent a mighty fleet under his brother to help the English. Swend was nephew of the great Canute. Many of those who had fallen at the battle of Hastings ^{William and the} were his kinsmen, and he wished to revenge ^{Danes.} their death. But William bribed the Danish commanders, and the fleet sailed away without striking a blow.

7 Then William marched northwards to put down a great rising in Northumberland. He wished to frighten the English, so as to teach them not to rise against him again. To do this he had waste the whole of the north of England. The houses and all that was in them, the stores of corn, even the living animals, were burnt. The whole land was left desolate. Many of the people died of hunger, whilst some sold themselves as slaves, that they might get bread. For nine years the land remained untilled. It was a terrible deed, and men said that the wrath of God was sure to follow upon it. But the north never dared to rise against William again.

8 One by one the risings all over the country were put down. The man who gave William most trouble was Hereward. Hereward, a great chieftain, who fortified himself on an island in the fens near Ely, so that none could get near him. Many of the English took refuge with him, amongst others Earl Morcar. At last William had to make a great causeway of stones and trees and hides over the fens to get at Hereward. Then Morcar and the others surrendered, but Hereward escaped, and many strange stories are told of his after life, but we know nothing more with certainty about him. Morcar was kept in prison till his death. Malcolm, king of Scotland, tried to help the English several times. Edgar the Atheling and many others fled to his court. At last in 1072 William marched over the border and made Malcolm submit to him.

9 In many of the towns which he took William built great castles, in which he put soldiers to watch over the citizens, lest they should rise against him. In London he built the Tower, which has always been famous in English history. He took away the lands of all the English who rose against him, and

he gave them to his Norman followers so that by degrees the lordship of nearly all the land passed out of English into Norman hands

10. Now, all the men who got lands from William held them in the *feudal* way. Lands held in this way were called *fiefs*, and their holders had to make certain promises to the lord who gave them Feudalism these fiefs. They were called his vassals, or tenants, from the French word *tenir*, meaning to hold, and the lord was called their superior. The vassals were bound to follow their lord to war, and to pay him certain services, whilst he in return took them under his protection and defended them against their enemies. When land was granted to the vassal by his lord he had to do *homage* to him for it. That means he became his man, from the French word *homme*, which means man. The vassal knelt before his lord, and, putting his hands between his, swore to be his man for life and death, so God help him. When he died his son had to do the same homage, and then his father's lands were given him by his lord.

11. These feudal customs had been growing up all over Europe, in England as well as in other countries, but they had grown more quickly in France and Feudalism
in France Normandy than in England, and William had there seen what they came to at last. There the vassals might give away part of their lands to their followers, who then were their men and not the king's men, and had not to do homage to the king at all. The great vassals of the king, too, had their own courts, where they judged their own vassals and laid on taxes at their pleasure. In this way the great vassals grew very powerful and did not care much for their lord, to whom little more than the tie of homage bound them. They were called *tenants in chief*, because they held their lands directly from the

king In this way William himself, as Duke of Normandy, was a vassal of the King of France, and had to do him homage

12 William did not wish things to become like this in England He wanted to have one strong government, which should rule the land He wished all the law courts to depend upon himself He let the barons hold the land in the feudal way, because it seemed to him the best and simplest way, and the old English ways had not been at all simple But in other ways he tried to prevent his barons from gaining as much power as the barons had gained in France

William and feudalism ✓(1) He made every holder of land, and not only the tenants in chief, take the oath of obedience to him and become his man

✓(2) He let no man hold much land together If he gave a man many lands he gave them to him in different counties, so that he might not form one strong power Canute had divided the country into great ealdoms, but William broke these up He made very few earls, and governed the counties by the sheriffs, whom he chose himself, and who could not leave their office to their sons He only made four great ealdoms, where the earls were allowed to have all the royal rights and name their own sheriffs

These were Chester and Shropshire, which were to defend the border from the Welsh, Durham, to keep off the Scots, and Kent, where the coast had to be defended from foreign invaders But Kent and Durham he gave to bishops, who might not marry, and so could not found great families

✓(3) He did not let the courts of justice of the barons become too powerful The barons had courts of law for each of their *manors*, as their estates were called, but as William took care that their estates should be far

from one another they could not set up one strong central court

Now, the barons did not like all this at all. They had never loved William's rule. They had followed him to England because they hoped to get more lands and more power. They thought that they would rise in power as much as William had done, and when they found that he would not let them become great and powerful, like the barons in France, they grew discontented and seized every opportunity to resist his power.

13 At last two of the great Norman barons made a plot, into which they tried to draw Waltheof, Earl of Northampton, the last of the English earls. They agreed to divide England amongst themselves, and that two of them should be dukes and one king. But Waltheof's heart failed him, and he told all that they had plotted. This did not save him, and he was beheaded as a traitor. The English mourned much for him, for he was a good man and gave much to the poor, and they revered him as a saint and as the last of their great earls.

Struggle
with the
rebellious
barons, 1075

Another time the discontented barons in Normandy made William's own son, Robert, rebel against him. Robert wanted to have the Duchy of Normandy for his own, even in his father's lifetime, but his father would not part with it. In time the barons gathered round Robert, who took up arms against his father. He found a friend, too, in the king of France, who feared the power of his great vassal William.

After a while the tears and prayers of Queen Matilda, who loved both husband and son very dearly, brought about peace between them. But it lasted only for a time, and Robert's rebellions and disobedience were the trouble of his father's last years.

William had to spend much time during his reign in

his lands in France. He had most difficulty with the province of Maine, which did not like his rule. His neighbour, Fulk, Count of Anjou, made plots to get it from him. There was always great enmity between the Angevins, as the people of Anjou were called, and the Normans, and we shall see the results of this enmity later on, when a king of Angevin blood came to rule over England.

William's absences in Normandy were not very good for the people of England. We have seen how the rule of Odo of Bayeux made the English discontented in the first year after the Conquest. It was worse even in 1082. Odo wished to be made Pope, and for this end he tried to get money in every possible way. He oppressed the poor and spoiled the Church. When William heard of this he was much angered. He came back to England and seized Odo with his own hands, for no other man dared lay hands upon him, because he was a bishop. He had him carried to prison at Rouen, where he stayed till the Conqueror's death.

William was too strong for all his enemies. They only struggled against him that they might gain more power each for himself, and had no common object for which all would have fought, so they could do nothing against William's power.

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM'S GOVERNMENT

1 ALL this time William had only one trusted friend and adviser. This was the man whom he had made Archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, an Italian.

William and Lanfranc Lanfranc was one of the greatest scholars of his day, full of zeal both for religion and learning. He

had gone to live in peace away from the world at the humble monastery of Bec, in Normandy. But he was too great a man to be left quiet. The fame of his learning drew many to Bec, and a great school gathered round him, so that Bec grew rich and famous. Then William learnt to know Lanfranc, and soon saw his greatness. He saw that whilst he was as strong as a Norman, he had all the learning and cunning wisdom of an Italian. He made him his friend and adviser, and trusted him with all his plans. When he built the great Abbey of St Stephen's at Caen, he made Lanfranc its abbot, and when, soon after the Conquest, he had to choose a new Archbishop of Canterbury, his first thought was of Lanfranc.

When William planned the Conquest of England, he spoke much of his wish to reform the English Church. The Pope encouraged his plans, for great disorder had crept into the English Church, which cared little for the words of the Pope. Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had not, they said, been rightly elected according to the rules of the Church, so William put him aside, and bade Lanfranc come to fill the office.

2 Lanfranc came to England and threw himself heart and soul into the Conqueror's work there. The two men had the same aims, and they worked together to bring them about. The change brought the English Church much closer to Rome, still neither William nor Lanfranc allowed the Pope to interfere too much in English matters.

The Popes at that time were seeking to get more and more power in all the countries of Europe. They claimed greater powers for the Papacy than had ever been claimed before. This was mainly the work of one man, Hildebrand, who, after being the intimate friend and councillor of several popes, at last became Pope himself, as

Gregory VII He and the Conqueror were the two greatest men in Europe, and Gregory soon found that William was as strong as himself William treated the Pope with great respect, but he meant to rule his own Church, and he would not let Gregory interfere in Church matters in England without his consent

In all this Lanfranc agreed with William, but neither of them would allow disorder in the Church by degrees they turned most of the English bishops out of their sees and filled up their places with Normans Most of the new bishops were wise and good men, scholars chosen by Lanfranc for their learning and piety Norman abbots, also, were placed over many of the abbeys, but this did not work so well, for the abbeys were full of English monks, who did not like to have a foreigner set over them

3 The greatest change which William and Lanfranc made was that they allowed the bishops and archdeacons to hold law courts of their own, in which they might judge all cases which had to do with the clergy or the law of the Church Before the Conquest the bishop had sat with the-sheriff in the court of the shire, and had helped him to do justice Now the bishops had courts of their own, and no longer sat in the county courts In the bishops' courts they did justice according to the *Canons*—that is, the law of the Church—not by the common law of the land This worked very well at first, when king and archbishop were of the same mind, but it had great evils, which showed themselves, as we shall see, in after-years, when the Church tried to take too much upon herself

Lanfranc's zeal in spiritual matters gave new life to religion in England New orders of monks were brought in, and many new monasteries were built On all sides, too, new and beautiful churches began to rise, for the

Normans were well skilled in building Their churches were strong and massive, with bold ornaments, and much of their work remains in England to this day Great part of many of the English cathedrals was built by the Normans, and so were many parish churches The finest of their churches is the great cathedral of Durham

4. During the last eleven years of his reign William had no foe to fear in England He kept strict peace throughout the land It was said that in his day a man might go through the country with his bosom full of gold and no one would dare to rob him, neither did any man dare slay another, even though he had done him great evil

5 Still the Conqueror's hand was very heavy upon the people Love of money was the great sin laid to his charge by the men of his time, and many and severe were the taxes he laid on the land He raised the same sums as the English kings before him had raised from the royal estates, and besides this he made the people pay the *Danegeld* again, which Edward the Confessor had done away with

6 The *Danegeld* was an old English tax which had been raised in times of danger from the attacks of the Danes It was paid by all the holders of cultivated land for the defence of their country William raised the tax, as it had often been raised before, when there was no question of an attack from the Danes, and he made it three times as great as it had ever been before

But besides the old English ways of getting money William used the Norman ways too These were feudal *aids*, that is moneys which the great vassals were bound to pay their lord on fixed occasions, as on the marriage of his eldest daughter and the knighting of his eldest son The barons could only raise these moneys from the people

who depended on them and worked on their lands, and so all these heavy burdens fell upon the poor, and no class was left untaxed

7 William's great love for hunting also brought much trouble upon the people To make a good forest to hunt in, he had waste one of the most fertile parts of England, from Winchester to the seacoast, 17,000 acres of land It was called the New Forest, and has kept its name till this day He made a law that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded 'He forbade killing the deer and the boars' the old English chronicle tells us 'he loved the tall stags as if he were their father The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so stark that he recked nought of them, they must will all what the king willed, if they would live'

8 That he might better know the state of the country, and how much money and how many men-at-arms he might raise from it, William sent officers to enquire into the condition of each county They caused to come before them the chief landowners of each county and representatives from the hundreds and towns, who were called *jurors*, because of the solemn oath they took to speak nothing but the truth These jurors told the names of all the manors and towns in the county, how many freemen there were and how many serfs, how much meadow, wood, and pasture, how many mills, what kinds of fisheries, and what was the value of each holding of land All that they told was carefully written down by the king's officers, and when it was all put together the record was called the *Domesday Book*, for men said it was so complete that it would last till the day of doom or judgment

We can easily see how useful the Domesday Book was to William, for it told him exactly the state of the

country, how rich it was and how it was cultivated, and so he learnt to know what he might get out of it. To all after-times also the Domesday Book has been of great use and interest. We can learn all about the England of the Conqueror's time from it, what the people grew in the fields, and how they lived, from it any landowner may learn who held his land in those days, and in what state it was. The whole was done carefully and well, as William had everything done about him, for he liked no half-measures.

9 William had no wish to vex the people by many changes in the government. He showed great wisdom in making use of the best parts of both the Norman and the English customs. The great strength of the English system lay in the way in which the whole country was bound together in one government by the different courts, the shire moots and the hundred moots, of which you have heard in the early English history. The strength of the Norman system lay in the close ties which bound the great vassals to the king. So William kept what was good in both, and this made his government very strong.

He kept up all the forms of the old English government, and confirmed the laws which had been in use in the days of King Edward the Confessor. It was this that made the English people bear patiently with his rule. They felt that from the lawlessness of the barons they would have nothing to gain, and they saw that William's enemies were their enemies. After the last risings of the English had been crushed in 1071, they never tried again to take away the crown from their Norman king. All the after-troubles in the Conqueror's reign and in the reigns of his sons came from the discontent of the Norman barons, and not from the English people at all.

It was his stern love of order and the strict obedience which he made the people pay to his laws, but most of all his heavy taxes, that made William's rule so harsh. We have said that he kept up the old forms of government, but they were little more than forms, for his will was law, and no man might go against it. But he did not wish one thing one day and another the next, like a tyrant. He ruled himself as well as other men, and his rule was wise as well as strong.

CHAPTER III

WILLIAM I AND HIS SONS

1 IN body William was as strong as in mind. He was of middle height, with a fierce countenance. Men trembled at his look when he was angry. His forehead was bare of hair. Whether he was standing or sitting his look was kingly. So great was his strength of arm, that when his horse was at full gallop he could draw a bow which no other man could draw standing on the ground. Till his death he never had any serious illness. He loved grandeur and magnificence. Three times a year he wore his crown at the three great cities of Gloucester, Winchester, and Westminster. Then he gathered round him all the great men in the land, and gave royal feasts and showed his power and his wealth to the ambassadors who came from foreign lands. Then he was affable and bountiful to all, that men might say he was as generous as he was rich. But as a rule he was a hard man, and it is not wonderful that men should have looked upon him with fear and wonder rather than with love. The one tender side of his character that we read of is his love to his

William I's
person and
character

queen They seem to have loved and trusted one another perfectly all through their lives, and when she died he caused a rich tomb of gold and gems to be put over her grave at Caen, and mourned for her till his death.

2 In his last years William grew very stout, so that he was quite deformed by his great size He heard that the King of France made jests at his figure, and he swore to be revenged for this jest.

*William I's
death and
burial*

In the month of August, when the corn was ripe upon the ground and the orchards and vines hung heavy with fruit, he entered France. To revenge an idle jest he laid the whole country waste, and so made the people suffer for their king's fault. He set fire to the city of Mantes, but whilst he was looking with joy at the flames, his horse trod on a burning ember and stumbled. William was thrown heavily forward against the saddle and was so severely hurt that he was carried away to Rouen only to die.

On his deathbed he said that his son Robert must have Normandy, since he had promised it to him, but he gave it to him sadly, for he knew that he was proud and foolish and would not rule the duchy well. He hoped that William, his second son, would have England. He did not name him; he said that as he had won the kingdom by the sword, he dared leave it to no one but to the disposal of God. Then he thought of his sins, of his harshness to the English, of the lands he had burnt and plundered, of the vast numbers he had slain by hunger or the sword. To atone for his sins he left his treasures to the poor and to the churches in his lands. He gave orders that all prisoners should be allowed to go free, even his brother Odo of Bayeux.

He dictated a letter to Lanfranc telling him what he wished about the government of England, and gave it to his son William, who started on his way to England even

before his father's death. To his youngest son, Henry, he gave money from his hoard and bade him be patient and trust in the Lord and let his elders go before. At last one morning, as the bell rang for prime, he stretched out his hands in prayer and his soul passed away. He was, says the English chronicler, a 'very wise man and very great, and more worshipful and stronger than any of those who went before him.'

As he lay ill, the enemies of peace had rejoiced, thinking that now they would be able to seize on the goods of other men at their pleasure, but those who loved peace were filled with dread. In truth the strong man was no sooner dead than those who had stood around his bed rushed to their own homes to save their goods from the plunderers. In the royal chamber everything was carried off, clothes, vessels, and furniture, and the body of the great man who had been so feared during his lifetime, was left alone and wellnigh bare on the floor of the chamber. Not a man of his household came forward to bury him. Each man thought only of himself. At last a humble Norman knight, at his own expense, took the body by water to Caen, and there it was buried in the Conqueror's great abbey of St. Stephen's.

3 The sons both in England and Normandy would have liked to have for their king Robert, the Conqueror's eldest son. But William the Red, as the second son was called, from the colour of his hair, had a powerful friend in Lanfranc. William was ready to do anything to get the crown, and as the barons were against him he threw himself upon the support of the English. He swore to Lanfranc that he would rule with justice and mercy, would care for the Church, and follow his advice in all things. So Lanfranc crowned him king, and his promises of good government bound the English people to him.

William the
Red chosen
king of
England

The barons still clung to Robert, and it took much fighting, both in England and Normandy, to put them down. Many of the great Norman barons in England lost their lands and liberty by rebellion. At last, like so many other men of his day, Robert grew eager to go to the East on the Crusade and fight to win back Christ's Sepulchre from the Saracens. He made peace with William, and left him his duchy during his absence in return for a large sum of money.

CHAPTER IV

STRUGGLE BETWEEN KING AND CHURCH

1 WILLIAM THE RED was, like his father, a strong man, who knew how to make himself obeyed, but he had not his father's virtues. As long as Lanfranc lived, William II's government he kept him in order, so that his vices did not show themselves. William soon forgot the promises of good government which he had made to the English people, and when Lanfranc reminded him of them he answered angrily, 'Who is there who can fulfil all that he promises?' To the great loss of the country, Lanfranc died less than two years after the Red King came to the throne. Then William showed himself in his true light—a man who feared neither God nor men, who gave way to all his passions, and openly scoffed at religion and virtue.

For his chief minister and adviser he chose Ranulf Flambard, a priest, an able and crafty man, who cared no more for virtue than the king himself. He used every means to get money for the king, who loved it as much as his father had done, and cared not how he got it. In his days,' says the chronicler, 'all justice sank and

all unrighteousness arose' When an abbot or a bishop died, the king and his minister did not choose one to fill his place, but drew all the rents for themselves and took all the money that belonged to the office

After Lanfranc's death nearly four years passed and no new archbishop was named, till all men murmured Even the rough barons at William's court asked him to fill the see But he would not, till falling very sick he feared to die, and the thought of his many sins came to frighten him

2 It chanced that at that time there was a holy man in the land, abbot of that same monastery of Bec from which Lanfranc had come, Anselm by name Anselm He had been a friend of Lanfranc's, and was, like him, an Italian and a learned man He had long been spoken of as the man who should be archbishop So in his sickness the frightened king sent for him and told him that it was his will that he should fill the see of Canterbury But Anselm had no wish for this honour He was a simple monk, he said, and wished to live in peace—he had never mixed with the business of the world The bystanders had to use force before they could make him take the cross in his hands, and it was against his will that he was made archbishop

3 When the king got better of his sickness he forgot his vows to lead a new life, and behaved worse than before Anselm and William. But in Anselm he found a man bold enough to rebuke his crimes When all the land trembled before the tyrant, the archbishop spoke out for the cause of liberty and good government. That the two should live in peace side by side was impossible The King grew to hate Anselm and quarrelled with him, because he rebuked him for his vices, and because he would not give him the money he wanted Moreover, there were at that time two Popes in Christendom, each

claiming to be the rightful one Anselm had said that he would obey Urban II as Pope, but William forbade him to look upon either as Pope till he allowed it.

4. At last William grew so bitter against him that Anselm had to leave the country and did not come back till the Red King's death For twelve long years of misery William ruled over the land The barons imitated his vices, and on all sides the people were oppressed Ranulf Flambard found out ever new ways of burdening the country with taxes Law was almost silent, and only money weighed with the Judges

William II's
oppression

William loved hunting as much as his father had done, and his forest laws were very cruel One day whilst hunting in the New Forest he was shot by an arrow and killed on the spot. Whether this was done by chance or on purpose was never known, and perhaps no man cared to ask, from joy that the tyrant was dead

5 Henry, William's younger brother, was hunting with him when he was killed Robert was still away on the Crusade, and Henry had himself chosen king by the few barons who were round William at his death

1100.
Henry I
chosen king

6 But Henry knew well that the barons really wished Robert to be king, and so hastened to make himself sure of the people At his crowning he swore to give the land peace, justice, and equity Afterwards he gave the people a charter in which he promised to free the Church from all unjust burdens, and the land from all evil customs, he gave back to the people their old laws, and promised to reform all the abuses which had crept in during the Red King's reign

Henry I's
charter

We must remember this charter, because it states very clearly for the first time the rights of the people

It puts bounds to the power of the king by saying that the freedom of the people cannot lawfully be interfered with. It gave the people good hope that their troubles were at an end.

7 Henry had been born in England, and the English people joyfully welcomed him as in truth an English king. Still greater was their joy when he took for his wife an English maiden, Edith, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and Margaret, the sister of Edgar the Atheling. She took the name of Maude on her marriage, and her virtues made her very dear to the English people, who spoke of her as the 'good Queen Maude'.

8 One of Henry's first acts was to send for Anselm to come back. The archbishop came full of hope that now he might do something to reform the Church and the monasteries. Henry was willing to reform the Church, but he meant to keep the old customs that had been in force in his father's reign. He wanted the bishops and abbots to do him homage and be his men, as the laymen were, he meant himself to fill up the vacant posts in the Church and give the bishops and abbots the ring and the staff, the signs of their office. But Anselm had quite other views. He said that the election of the abbots and bishops belonged to the monks and chapters, that the clergy owed the king no homage, and that no layman could give the ring and the staff. On this point neither would give way, and so they quarrelled. Henry had the strong will of his father, and would give up none of his powers. Anselm felt that he was fighting for the liberty of the Church. He had seen how she had suffered from being quite in the king's power in the last reign.

It was the same quarrel that was then troubling all Europe, and is called the dispute about *investitures*.

The point was whether it was the lay power or the Church which had the right to *invest* or clothe a man in the dignities of a spiritual office

We need not follow out the quarrel between Anselm and Henry, which lasted for many years. For three years Anselm was banished from England, because he would not give way to the king. At last they came to an agreement by each side giving way a little. The important thing about the quarrel is that the Church was able to make so hard a fight against such a strong king as Henry, and in the end really made him give up something. This showed him that he could not always do just as he willed, and it taught the people, too, that they were not so much at the king's mercy as it seemed.

Anselm did not live quite three years after his return from exile, but during that time Henry listened to him when he spoke of the sorrows of the poor, and something was done to help them. Anselm was known all over Christendom for his learning and his piety. Men mourned much when he died, and in after days the Church made him one of her saints.

CHAPTER V

HOW THE NORMAN KINGS GOVERNED THE LAND

I HENRY I was hardly crowned when Robert reached Normandy on his return from the Crusade. He listened to the barons, who urged him to try and take the English crown from his brother. The barons saw that Henry's rule would be strict, while they knew that Robert, though a brave soldier, was weak and foolish. If they had Robert for their king they hoped to be able to have things more their

Struggle
with Duke
Robert.

own way. In the whole quarrel the barons looked only for their own gain and cared little for Robert, but the English held firmly by Henry. The fighting was mostly in Normandy, where at last Henry won the great battle of Tenchebrai (1106), and took Robert prisoner. Henry I now ruled over both Normandy and England, and kept Robert in prison till his death.

2 Still he was not left undisturbed, for the king of France feared his power, and the barons were always discontented. Robert's son claimed Normandy, and the king of France fought for him, but he died young, and Henry had no other rival to fear. The wars in France really strengthened his power at home. He was able to seize the lands of those barons who rose against him, and in this way the descendants of many of the great men who had taken part in the Conquest lost their lands in England. Henry did not, as a rule, seize their lands in Normandy also. He was afraid that if he did so he would drive them to seek help from the king of France.

3 These struggles with the barons brought much good to the English people. Henry had to trust to their help, and, that he might be sure of it, he had to give them the good government which they wanted, and give them back the old laws and customs which they had had under Edward the Confessor. It is in this reign that we find the beginnings of English liberties. It was not that Henry loved his people, his aims were quite selfish. He wanted them to help him, and he was wise enough to take the right means to get them to do so. He began his reign by arresting Ranulf Flambard, William the Red's wicked minister, and this seemed to the people to promise good government. He made friends with the Church by filling up all the sees which William had left empty, and, except

for his quarrel with Anselm, worked with the Church to do away with the abuses in the land

4. Henry was a hard, selfish man, but fortunately for the people his interests were the same as theirs. He knew what he wanted, and he knew how to get it. He kept his aims clearly before him in all that he did. He wished to build up a strong power out of the firm union of England and Normandy. Men did not love him, but they feared and trusted him, for they could see and understand his aims. 'Great was the awe of him,' says the chronicler, 'no man durst illtreat another in his time. he made peace for men and deer'

Henry I's
character

5. The Conqueror had loved order and made peace in the land. But time had tried his system and showed the points in which it failed, so that Henry could see where it would be well to make changes. In his plans for reform his chief adviser was Roger, Bishop of Salisbury. He was a very wise and able man, a Norman by birth, who had risen in Henry's service from being a poor clerk to be Bishop of Salisbury and chief minister of the king. In Henry I's time these ministers of the crown first grew up to help the king in all that he had to do.

Henry I's
govern-
ment

6. The chief minister in those days was called the *Justiciar*. At first the Justiciar only existed when the king was away from England and some one had to take his place there. The Conqueror wanted no minister, for he liked to look after everything himself. But as the business of the government grew greater, some one was much oftener wanted to fill the king's place and look after things for him. Roger of Salisbury was Justiciar to the end of Henry's reign, and it is in his time that the Justiciar seems to have grown to be chief minister of the crown.

The
Justiciar

7 In later times the Justiciar became only a judge—the Lord Chief Justice, as he is now called. Most of his duties then fell upon the *Chancellor*, who was at first only the head of the royal chaplains, the priests in the king's service. They were the king's secretaries. He got his name from the screen—*cancelli*, as it is called in Latin—behind which he and the chaplains did their work. The Chancellor also became in time only a legal officer, but is still a minister of the crown.

8 The Treasurer was simply the keeper of the king's treasure, and had to look after the accounts. Still the office was important, and Roger of Salisbury got it for his nephew, the Bishop of Ely.

These were the chief men who did the business of the government for the king. They were generally clergymen, for the kings did not wish to give these offices to any of the great barons, for fear they should grow too strong and hand on the offices to their sons.

9 Most of the government was really in the king's own hands, though it was always said that he acted by the advice of his Great Council, the *Wite-nagemot*, as it had been called under the English kings. But it had changed its nature since the Conquest. It was now not a meeting of the Wise Men, but a court of the king's chief barons. It had only the forms of power, and though the king asked its advice, it does not seem to have dared to do more than agree to what he said. But by right it had the power to make laws, and it was important for the growth of English freedom that it kept even the forms of its rights, for when the people grew stronger they could make these forms real powers.

Besides the Great Council the king had two other courts, the *Exchequer* and the *Curia Regis*.

10 The Exchequer was the court which managed the accounts of the government and received the taxes. The Justiciar was the head of the court. The Chancellor and all the great officers of the king's household sat in it, and were called *Barons of the Exchequer*. The Exchequer got its name from the checked cloth which covered the table round which the barons sat. Its chief meetings were held twice a year, when the sheriffs came up from the counties with their accounts. Each sheriff had to bring up the money due to the crown from his county. This money came chiefly from the rents of the land belonging to the king in each county, and from the fines paid by offenders to the county courts. The sheriff agreed to pay the king for his dues a fixed sum, which was called the *Ferm* of the county. If he got more out of the county he kept it for himself, if less he had to make it up out of his own purse. Accounts between the sheriff and the Exchequer were kept on a long piece of stick, in which notches were made marking the pounds, shillings, and pence paid in by the sheriffs, the stick was then split in half, half was given to the sheriff, and half kept by the Exchequer.

11 The King's *revenue*, as the money which came in every year to the king was called, was made up of the following payments: 1. The *Ferm* of the counties, which has just been explained. 2. The Danegeld, this in time was done away with under that name, but the kings still laid a tax of much the same kind on the cultivated land. 3. The fines which had to be paid to the king by certain kinds of criminals, and the fees and other profits of the law courts. 4. The feudal aids. The vassals of the king had to pay him fixed sums when his eldest son was knighted, when his eldest daughter was married, and when their lands passed from one hand to another. 5. Henry I got a great deal

of money by fining those who broke the forest laws and killed the king's game. These forest laws were so very harsh that they brought much suffering upon the people. All these different moneys were paid into the Exchequer, and made a very large revenue for the crown.

12. The Curia Regis was the King's Court, as its Latin name means, in which the king sat at the head of his barons to give justice. It acted as a sort of committee of the king's Great Council, as the Great Council did not meet often. The usual court, therefore, was made up of the officers of the royal household. The same men who were barons of the Exchequer also sat in the Curia Regis, and were then called Justices. If the king was not present at the meetings of the court, the Justiciar took his place and heard the cases for him. The business of this court was very great. It had to hear the cases of persons who had interfered with the king's interest; it had to settle the disputes of the chief vassals of the crown, and suits were brought up to it from the county courts which could not be settled there. Out of this court sprang in the next century the three courts of Westminster, which we still have: the Exchequer, King's Bench, and Common Pleas. Besides being a court for doing justice it was also an assembly of the king's advisers, and as such it still remains in the Privy Council.

The chief reason which led the Norman kings to order this court so carefully was because they found that it brought them in a great deal of money. They did justice very much because of the large profits made by the fines which the offenders had to pay. Henry too was wise enough to see that the country would be safer if justice were done in it, and so he would be able to tax it more easily. So we see that the Norman kings did not do

justice for the good of the people, but because they found it profitable and useful for themselves

13 Henry I felt as strongly as his father had done how necessary it was to keep the power of the barons from growing too great. He saw that the Con-
Circuit of the Justices.
 queror had not gone far enough in this way. He went on to make it impossible for the barons to get strong powers of their own in the counties. He did this by connecting all the county courts with the Curia Regis. He sent his justices through the country *on circuit*, as it is called. They went first to fix what sums of money were due to the king. They sat in the shiremoot, the old English county court. At first they only had to look after money matters, but in time they sat as judges in the court as well, in the same way as our Judges do now when they go on circuit. Their circuits did not become very regular till the reign of Henry II, when we shall have to speak about them again.

The important thing to notice is how the whole country was bound together under one system. Through his justices the king could make his power felt in every part of the kingdom.

14 The county courts were much the same as they had been in the days of Edward the Confessor. They were presided over by the sheriff, who was chosen
The county courts
 by the king, and who represented the king—that is, stood in his place—in the county. Below them was the court of the hundred, which was a division of the county, and lastly came the manorial courts, the courts of the greater barons. These courts were all steps up to the Curia Regis, and were now all closely connected with it by the circuits of the justices.

So you see how orderly was the government of the Norman kings. The people were very safe under it, but they had to pay dearly for their safety. The taxes were

very heavy, and men often found it hard to pay them. But there was no war in the land, so that men had rest, and Normans and English began to grow into one people and feel that they had the same interests. The kings were harsh, but their hand weighed equally on all. The king's wars in Normandy cost large sums, and the English people had to pay for them. The chief object of the king in his government of England was to keep the people contented and get plenty of money out of them. In this he succeeded, for they never tried to go against him. But he had to give them the liberties, or forms of liberties, which afterwards helped them to govern themselves.

This account of the Norman government may perhaps seem very dry and hard to understand. But it is not hard to see why it should interest every Englishman. It tells us about the way in which the government we now have came to exist. Our English constitution has grown up gradually and naturally out of the mixture of the old English and the Norman customs. We have traced how the Normans made use of the forms of government they found in the land; they added order and strength to what they found, and put new life into it by their great energy, so that the whole nation grew stronger through them.

CHAPTER VI

THE BARONS IN POWER

1 A GREAT sorrow came upon Henry I. The ship in which his son William was coming home from Nor

mandy struck on a rock and sank, and all in it were lost. After this terrible blow, the story tells us, Henry never smiled again. William was his only son, to whom he had hoped to leave his strong power. The only child now left him was Matilda, who had been married to the Emperor Henry V, King of Germany. Henry I hoped that she would succeed him, but in those days it seemed a strange thing that a woman should rule over the lawless barons.

Death of
Prince
William
1120

Henry did all in his power to make her sure of the crown. He made all the barons and clergy swear to be faithful to her, and he married her after the emperor's death to Geoffrey of Anjou, the son of the man he most feared, Fulk, Count of Anjou. You will remember that the Counts of Anjou had always been foes of the Normans, and so the Norman barons hated this marriage.

2 When Henry died in Normandy, in 1135, all seemed uncertain. There was an end to the peace and order which the king loved, for the strong hand which kept the barons quiet was gone. No one remembered the oaths which they had sworn to Matilda. In the midst of the confusion Stephen, Count of Boulogne, son of the Conqueror's daughter, Adela, persuaded the English to choose him to be their king.

Stephen of
Boulogne be-
comes king

Stephen was a brave soldier, very generous and affable, so that men readily loved him. He swore to give the land peace and good government, and all England took him for her king, whilst no one took up Matilda's cause.

3 Stephen was nothing but a soldier, he had no idea how to govern the country. All was disorder in the land. The barons built strong castles, and plundered the poor at their pleasure.

Stephen's
misgovern-
ment.

Stephen, who wished to make firm friends for himself,

made many new earls. He took no care, as the Norman kings before him had done, to keep the barons from growing too powerful. For once feudalism got the upper hand in England, and the disorder and suffering that followed showed how wise had been the government of the Conqueror and his sons. The clergy alone tried to make peace in the land. But Stephen managed to make them his enemies.

4. Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, the great minister of Henry I, had gone on being Justiciar under Stephen.

He, too, that he might be safe in those lawless times, had built and fortified castles.

His nephews, who were bishops too, had done the same, and they came to court with long trains of servants as if they were princes. Stephen was afraid of such a powerful subject as Roger, so he seized him and made him give up his castles. This made the clergy very angry. Soon afterwards the Empress Matilda landed in England, and war began again. Even Stephen's brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, a rich and powerful man, went over to Matilda's side, because Stephen had done wrong to the Church.

5. The disgrace of Bishop Roger put the whole country in disorder, for he alone had looked after the government. The laws were no longer carried out, and justice was not done in the land. For fourteen years there was war between Stephen and Matilda. First one side met with success, then the other. Once Stephen was taken prisoner, but was let go again in return for other prisoners. Once Matilda was so hard-pressed in Oxford by Stephen, that she had to flee over the frozen floods clad all in white, so that she might not be seen against the snow.

The barons fought first on one side, and then on the other. They did not care either for Stephen or Matilda,

but only wanted to get power for themselves The clergy spoke up for peace, but they were not strong enough to do much

In the meanwhile the misery of the people was very great One chronicler says 'Some did what was right in their own eyes, but many did what they knew to be wrong all the more readily, now that the fear of the law and the king was taken away.' Another says 'The barons greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at their castles They took, by night and by day, those whom they thought to have any goods, seizing both men and women, they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable Many thousands they killed with hunger Then was corn dear, and cheese and butter, for there was none in the land Wretched men died with hunger, some lived on alms who before were rich, some fled the country Never was more misery, and never acted heathens worse than these Men said openly that Christ slept and his saints'

CHAPTER VII

SETTLEMENT OF THE DISORDER

THE country at last wearied of the struggle, and there came to England a man who seemed fitted to bring it to an end This was Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou, who had now grown to manhood End of the war Already he held many lands in France His father's death had given him Anjou From his mother he had Normandy, which Stephen had never been able to hold He had married Eleanor of Guienne, the heiress of the county of Poitou and the great duchy of Guienne In

this way he was lord of a greater part of France than was the French king himself

Henry began by making war on Stephen. But the misery of the country stirred up the clergy to try and make peace. Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, was sincerely moved by a wish to help the people, and Henry Bishop of Winchester aided him in persuading Stephen and Henry to come to terms.

2 By the Peace of Wallingford it was agreed that Stephen should keep the crown as long as he lived, on condition that it went to Henry on his death. A plan of reform was also made, most likely by Henry, so that means might be taken to bring back order and lessen the people's sufferings. Stephen did not live to carry out this plan, and probably would have been too weak to do so. He died the year after the Peace of Wallingford, and the crown passed quietly to Henry.

3 With Henry II came in a new race of kings—the Angevin Kings, as they were called, because of their descent from Geoffrey of Anjou. From Geoffrey too they got their surname of Plantagenet, because he had a habit of wearing in his hat a piece of broom called in Latin, *Planta Genista*.

Under the Angevin kings England made great progress. First of all Henry II by his wisdom made her strong, for he knew how to make use of what the Norman kings had done, and how to make their work better. Afterwards the weakness and bad government of John did as much for the people as Henry II's wisdom had done, for it taught them their own strength, and led them to make it felt.

It was under these kings that England became one. She learnt to feel that she was one country, under one government. The Normans and the English too became

one people They had married with one another, and very few families were still of pure Norman blood Men no longer spoke of 'the Normans', England becomes one the two people shared the name of English French was the language used at court, Latin was the language of law and learning, but English was the language of the great mass of the people. It was used too by poets, and the Norman Conquest did not stop the growth of English literature, though it made it slower for a time

CHAPTER VIII

HENRY II AND BECKET

1 HENRY II came to the throne of England quite peaceably He came to it as king of the whole nation, not brought to it by any one party Henry II's difficulties out of the nation Amongst his own people he must know neither friend nor foe To bring peace and order into the land was his first object

This would have been a difficult task for a wise and experienced ruler, and the new king was only twenty-one years old But he seems to have known by nature how to govern and make laws, and besides this he had the gift of knowing how to choose his ministers wisely, and how to get out of them the best work they could do

2 Henry II was a little above middle height, a stout man, with a short, thick neck, and quick eyes full of expression, his round head was covered with close-clipped reddish hair He was a busy man, of active habits, he never sat down Henry's character and person except at meals or on horseback He was rough and passionate, a man of strong feelings, careless of his dress and appearance, though he liked his court to be magnifi-

cent. He cared little for religion, but whispered and scribbled at mass. He had a distinct aim in life, and kept to it steadily: this was to strengthen and bind together the vast dominions over which he ruled. To do this, he saw that, in the first place, he must govern England as an English king. His foreign possessions were much larger than England, but he hoped to keep them all together by wise alliances and marriages. Foreign affairs often called him away from England, and whilst he was away his ministers ruled the country in his place. But he himself was always the centre of all power. He remembered everything, he thought of everything, he cared for everything. When busy with foreign wars he found time to think of reforms in English law, nothing escaped his eye and his hand.

3 England welcomed Henry to the throne, because he promised to bring back order in the land. He gave the Henry II's reform people a charter of liberties in which he confirmed all that Henry I had granted, and he at once set about the work of reform. In this he was helped by Archbishop Theobald, and also by a young English clerk in Theobald's service, Thomas Becket. Thomas was tall and handsome, a man of ready wit, whom the king soon grew to like, and whom he made his Chancellor. The two became intimate friends, who joked and laughed together whilst they managed the business of the country.

In his first reforms Henry followed the plan which he had agreed upon with Stephen. He sent out of the country the foreign troops which Stephen had brought to England. He bade the barons destroy the castles, which they had built in the time of disorder. When some of them refused, he quickly led his troops against them and made them obey. Stephen had granted to

many of the barons parts of the royal lands These now had to be all given back to the king

The courts of justice began to work again New sheriffs were put over most of the counties, and once more justice was done in the land Under Henry's rule a staff of able men grew up, fitted to do justice and reform the laws For the first ten years of the king's reign all went smoothly, and peace and order reigned in the land

4. In all Henry's reforms Becket was at his right hand, and got rich rewards for his services, so that the Chancellor became one of the richest and most powerful men in England Never, it Henry and Becket. was said, had the world seen two friends so thoroughly of one mind as Henry and Becket

Once as they rode through the streets of London side by side on a cold winter's day, they met a beggar all in rags 'Would it not be charity,' said the king, 'to give that fellow a cloak and cover him from the cold?' Becket agreed, so the king, in jest, plucked from Becket's shoulders, in spite of his struggles, his rich furred mantle, and threw it to the beggar It was in this way that the two jested together like friends and equals

Becket lived like a prince, every day he kept an open table, to which every man was welcome His household was like that of a great baron, and the nobles sent their sons to be brought up as pages under his care, though he was only a merchant's son

5 When Archbishop Theobald died, six years after Henry II became king, all men spoke of Becket as the man to succeed him Henry let a year pass, and then told Becket that he was to be the new archbishop Becket warned the king Becket made archbishop, 1162. that as archbishop he must put God before the king.

BUT Henry thought that by choosing the man whom he had raised from a humble rank in life and made his friend and favourite, he would get an archbishop who would obey his wishes, and so he would have the Church in his power

For the same reasons the Church was afraid of having Becket for its head. The clergy thought that the king's friend would put the king's interest before theirs, and that they would have a primate whose mind was given up to the world

6 But when Becket became archbishop he showed that he meant to live as one of the strictest of the clergy

Becket's life as archbishop He wore a haircloth next his skin, he fasted and prayed much, and at mass often melted into passionate tears. He gave very large sums to the poor, and every night he washed the feet of thirteen beggars. He no longer invited knights and barons but learned clerks to his table, and whilst they ate, grave Latin books were read aloud to them

He gave up the Chancellorship, and in this way seemed to cut himself off from his old friendship with the king. Henry was not pleased, he had hoped to keep Becket as his minister, but now the archbishop seemed to mean to act by himself apart from the king. The two soon began to quarrel. Henry wanted to bring the Church under his rule, as he had brought everything else. Becket clung closely to the rights of the clergy. He would not allow clerks who had been guilty of crimes to be judged in the lay courts

We have seen that the Conqueror had given the bishops courts of their own, and so had separated the Church law from the common law of the land. The evils of this were now seen. Many clerks who were guilty of crimes and many laymen who had harmed clerks were not punished at all. Henry wished to put a stop to this dis-

order by bringing them to trial before the king's courts But Becket refused to lessen the power of the bishop's courts Henry grew more and more angry with him, but could get him to agree to nothing

7 At last, in January 1164, Henry bade all the bishops meet him at Clarendon A list of the customs which Henry said the Church had observed in the time of his grandfather, Henry I, was then drawn up This was called the Constitutions

Constitu-
tions of
Clarendon

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of Clarendon They were much the same as the customs which the Conqueror had brought in They said that bishops and abbots should be chosen before the king's officers, with the king's assent, and that they were to hold their lands like other feudal vassals and do homage to the king They went on further to say that the king's court should decide whether a suit between a clerk and a layman should be judged in the Church court or the king's court A royal officer was to be present in the Church courts to see that they did not go beyond their powers, and men might appeal from the archbishop's to the king's court.

At first Becket would not agree, but he stood alone All the other bishops bent to the king's will, and at last they persuaded Becket to put his seal to the Constitutions

The moment afterwards he repented He wrote to the Pope to ask him to forgive him and free him from his oath

8 Then the king's rage knew no bounds, and all Becket's enemies felt that the time was come when his power might be destroyed He was bidden to appear before the king at a great council held at Northampton There was no one on his side, and all kinds of charges were brought against him In the midst of his enemies he showed his true courage and

Quarrel of
Henry II
and Becket

pride. As a sign that he looked for martyrdom, he came in carrying his cross himself, in spite of the other bishops, who tried to wrest it from him, before the king and all the bishops and barons sitting in council.

He forbade the bishops to sit in judgment on their primate, and said that he appealed to the judgment of the Pope. 'My person and my Church,' he said, 'I put under the protection of the Pope.'

He blamed the barons too for daring to sit in judgment on their spiritual father, saying, 'I am to be judged only under God by the Pope.'

Then he rose, and amid the murmurs of the crowd walked slowly down the hall. Some took up straws and threw them at him. One muttered 'Traitor.' 'Were it not for my order,' said Becket, fiercely, 'you should rue that word.' Outside the people greeted him with loud cheers, for they loved him for his charities.

9 So great was the anger of the king and the barons that Becket feared for his safety and even for his life.

Becket's flight. He fled in disguise that night, and after a journey full of hardships arrived in France. There he could make himself known, and was well received. The king of France, Lewis VII, hated Henry II, and was glad to be able to show honour to his enemy. The Pope was very much puzzled what to do, his own position was not very sure, and he owed much to the support of Henry II. He did not dare to go against so powerful a king.

For six years the quarrel went on, and Becket stayed in exile. Henry at last got into difficulties with his enemies in France. The Pope, too, had grown stronger, and threatened to excommunicate Henry—that is, to put him outside the communion of the Church—and this would have given the king's enemies new courage. So Henry was led to make a hasty peace with Becket, who

went back to England. The people greeted him with joy. But Becket's pride had not grown less in exile, and he could not come back to forgive and forget. His first thought was to punish the bishops who had opposed him by excommunicating them.

10 Henry was very angry when he heard what Becket had done. In one of his wild bursts of passion he cried out, 'Is there none of my thankless and cowardly courtiers who will free me from the insults of one lowborn and unruly priest?' He was in France at the time, and four knights on hearing his words hastened at once to Canterbury. At first they went to the archbishop in his chamber and spoke to him angry and violent words. But he defied them, and they rushed at a, shouting for their arms.

Becket's friends persuaded him to seek safety in the cathedral. There in the dim twilight the din of armed men was heard outside, and soon the four knights rushed into the church shouting, 'Where is the traitor?' 'Behold me,' answered Becket through the gloom, as he turned to meet them; 'no traitor, but a priest of God.' They tried to drag him from the church, for they feared to do violence in the holy place, but Becket clung to a pillar. In the struggle he even dashed one of them to the ground. But they quickly got the better of him. Kneeling on the steps that led to the choir, Becket cried, 'Lord receive my spirit.' Blow after blow fell upon him, and not till they were sure their work was done, did the murderers leave the place.

The news of this terrible outrage filled all Christendom with horror. Henry II trembled at the storm that was raised, and he himself was filled with anger and horror at the deed which his passionate words had caused. Becket was hailed as a martyr and was made a saint, under the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. He

soon became the most popular saint in England, for the common people had always loved him, and many miracles were said to be done at his tomb

By his influence with the Pope and his readiness to humble himself in every way, Henry succeeded in getting the Pope's pardon. When next in England he made a solemn pilgrimage to the martyr's tomb, walking three miles with bare feet along the stony road. As he knelt at the tomb, he was scourged by the monks on his naked back as a sign of his penitence.

11 But it was not only sorrow for Becket's death that made the king humble himself so much. He wanted the help of the English against his enemies, and though the English liked their king, neither the clergy nor the people would help him heartily till he had repented of the murder he had caused.

Henry's enemies all chose the moment after Becket's murder to rise against him. His sons had long been discontented with him, because he did not give them enough power. It is true he had had his eldest son Henry crowned King of England. But he had soon shown him that he did not mean him to have any real power. Young Henry was so angry that he fled to Lewis VII, King of France, who was very glad to receive him.

12 And at this time, when he thought Henry would be very weak, Lewis invaded Normandy. Henry's younger sons, Richard and Geoffrey, took up arms against their father in Aquitaine. Meanwhile the King of Scotland entered the north of England with an army. The great barons rose in revolt in different parts of England. At the same moment all the different forces against which Henry II had to struggle all his life rose against him.

| These were (1) his rebellious sons, helped by the King

of France, (2) the King of the Scots, (3) the rebellious barons

Henry's great energy saved him in this danger. The English people and his ministers were true to him. Hardly had he risen from his knees before the tomb of St Thomas at Canterbury, when news came that Ranulf de Glanvil had surprised William the Lion, King of Scotland, in a mist, and had taken him prisoner at Alnwick. This seemed to the people a sign that the king's repentance had been accepted. His foes had no common cause, and were beaten one by one with wonderful speed. Henry was always moderate in his use of victory. But though he spared his enemies he never let them out of his hands till he had so weakened them that they could do nothing against him. After this revolt the barons lost still more of their power, and Henry was more powerful than he had been even at the beginning of his reign.

CHAPTER IX

HENRY'S GOVERNMENT

1 HENRY II was a true lover of peace and never went to war if he could help it, though when he had to do so he showed himself an excellent soldier. But it was by his wise measures more than anything else that he got a firm hold over all his possessions, and made himself the most powerful ruler in Europe.

When he had crushed his enemies Henry went back at once to his work of reforming the law. Never in all his busy reign did he forget this.

Henry's reforms in the law

2 Like his grandfather, Henry I, he sent his Justices through the country, they were called *itinerant* from a

Latin word which means journeying from place to place.
 Itinerant Justices Henry II divided the country into districts or *circuits*, places through which the judges should journey, and several judges were sent to go through each. They did not now go only to collect taxes, but they judged cases and heard pleas in the county courts. As the justices were members of the Curia Regis, their circuits brought the county courts into close connection with the Curia Regis.

3 The greater importance of the itinerant justices naturally took away from the power of the sheriffs.
 Sheriffs Henry found that the sheriffs used their office to gain power and wealth for themselves. At one and the same time the king removed all the sheriffs from their offices, and then had an *inquest* or inquiry made into the way in which they had done their duties. The sheriffs do not seem to have met with great blame, but they did not get their places back again. Henry chose his new sheriffs from the officers of his Exchequer, men whom he knew and trusted. In this way the Curia Regis and the shires were brought still more closely together, and the barons, as they were now no longer sheriffs, lost much of their power in the shires.

These reforms all tended to make the country more and more one, for they made all the government centre round the Curia Regis, and let no independent powers grow up in the shires.

4. It is to Henry II's reforms that we owe the first clear beginnings of the English custom of trial by jury.
 Origin of Juries. Henry's law reforms were all put together into short codes, lists of rules, and orders, which he called *Assizes*, and which were given out at the councils which he held so often.

In one of these assizes he ordered that the sheriff should name four knights who were to choose twelve

men out of their neighbourhood to give evidence on trials. These men swore to speak truth, and were, therefore, called *jurors*, from the Latin *juro*, 'I swear'.

Another assize ordered that the twelve jurors from each neighbourhood and four from each township were to bring to trial before the king's justices, when they came round, all in their neighbourhood who were thought guilty of any crime.

We see, therefore, that the jurors were at first witnesses more than anything else. But as time went on and it was found that the jurors often had not enough knowledge about the matter in question, they were allowed to call eyewitnesses who had seen the thing themselves, to help them. So in time they came to fill the position which they do now, of deciding as to the truth of the matter from all that witnesses can tell them about it.

5 Henry had much need of soldiers for his foreign wars, and he made some important changes ^{Henry} in the way in which he got armies together ^{armies}.

6. You will remember that the feudal vassals of the crown had to bring their followers to aid the king in his wars. This was all very well for a war in England, but it was different for foreign wars when men had to be taken out of the country for long and dangerous expeditions. In early English times the man who did not follow his king to war had to pay a fine. Henry now brought back this custom, but the payment of money instead of bearing arms was no longer a punishment but a favour. The vassal who did not wish to go to war paid the king a fixed sum of money according to the amount of land he possessed. This was called *scutage* and with the money so raised Henry ^{Scutage} hired troops to fight his wars. These troops were raised from different countries, at that time they

were mostly Flemings, from Flanders Henry II's habit was to hire troops for his foreign wars, but to trust to the national force in England

7 This national force was not a feudal force. In raising it Henry went back to the old custom by which every freeman was bound to serve for the defence of the country The Assize of Arms of 1181 fixed the way in which each freeman was bound to arm himself when summoned by the king This large force the king could use as he willed to defend his kingdom

8 It will be well to notice how among all these changes made by Henry II things were slowly moving on towards the government of England as it is now—by a Parliament which *represents or stands in the place of* the people, who have chosen it

Preparation
of the people
for self
government.

(1) The king never made a change in the laws or did anything of importance without the advice of his Council. It is true that the Council seldom dared to oppose him, but still the fact remains that he held very many councils, and asked their advice on every point.

(2) The jurymen were chosen out of their neighbourhood to stand in the place of their neighbourhood, and this accustomed the people to see a few men representing many It was the same in the county courts, where each township was represented by four men

(3) The Itinerant Justices brought the county courts, or shiremoots, and the Curia Regis into close connexion In the county courts there was representation, and the Curia Regis was part of the Great Council, by the advice of which the king governed The bringing together of representatives of the counties and the towns to advise the king made in time our House of Commons

The idea of representation—of one man standing for many—had been present in early English customs It is

by carefully watching how this idea grew that we shall understand how the government of England as it now is came about

9 It was in the towns at this time that the people were most quickly growing in wealth and prosperity At the time of the Conquest the towns, like the rest of the county, had been under the rule of the sheriff Little by little they made their way to independence They were allowed to pay their taxes direct to the Exchequer, and not through the sheriff, and the sum of money demanded from them was called the *Firma Burgi*, the citizens were allowed to have their own magistrates and courts of law, their *Guilds* also were recognised by the king

Growth of
the English
towns

10 These guilds were in early times bodies of men bound together by oath for some common purpose, such as taking part in some religious service, and helping one another when in difficulties As trade increased there grew up Merchant Guilds of all the merchants of the town, to watch over the interests of trade These Merchant Guilds were now the chief body in the towns, and filled the same sort of place as the corporation filled afterwards Craft Guilds also began to spring up, in which the members of any particular craft, such as weavers or goldsmiths, bound themselves together to watch over the interests of their craft, and allowed no man to practise it who was not a member of the guild

Guilds

11 The different privileges of the towns were given them by the king in form of charters, which were bought from him by the town with large sums of money The poorer towns, which could not pay so much, could not buy such great privileges as the richer ones The barons who had towns in their lands followed the king's example and sold charters to them. This was done very often at the time

Charters

of the Crusades, when the barons wanted to raise as much money as they could to help them to go to the East. All over Europe many towns gained their liberties at that time.

Henry II and his sons greatly favoured the growth of the towns, and did all they could for the good of trade and manufacture. As the towns grew richer they could tax them more and get more money out of them, whilst by granting charters they also got money. Henry was repaid for what he had done for the towns by the way in which they stood by him when the barons rebelled against him.

London was, of course, the largest and most important of the towns and had the greatest privileges. In the time of King John she obtained her *Communa*, that is, the right herself to elect the corporation or body of men who should govern her, with the mayor at their head. London was already a city of merchants and traders, and from them the mayor was chosen. The importance of London throughout the history of England is chiefly owing to the fact that, because of the great riches of her merchants, she acted constantly as the purse of the nation.

CHAPTER X

LAST YEARS OF HENRY II

1 HENRY II loved his children dearly, but he did not know how to win their love. The last sixteen years of his life were made bitter to him by their constant revolts, in which their mother encouraged them. Whilst the elder ones rebelled against him he clung with all the more tenderness to the youngest, John. Many of the quarrels with the elder ones came from Henry's attempts to get lands and money for John's mar-

Conquest
of Ireland

ridge portion For John's sake most likely he took in hand at last the conquest of Ireland, which he had long been planning, hoping that John might at least be King of Ireland Besides this Ireland was in a very lawless condition, and needed a strong ruler

2 Some few hundred years earlier, Ireland had been in a very much better state In 432 St Patrick had gone from Gaul and laboured amongst the Irish to make them Christians This was more than State of Ireland a hundred years before Augustine preached Christianity to the English The Irish soon became very zealous Christians Many churches, monasteries, and schools were founded all over the land, and arts and letters began to flourish. Foreigners came to study in the Irish schools, and Irish missionaries carried the Gospel into distant lands They laboured in Northumbria, and they went even to Gaul and Germany

But when the Northmen at last found their way to Ireland, they soon destroyed all the refinement and learning they found there Ireland became again wild and barbarous There were several kings ruling different parts of the land, and struggling together which should be the most powerful But these kings had little real power even in their own kingdoms, the clan system was very strong in Ireland, and the different clans and their chieftains were always fighting together, and cared very little for their king So there was nothing but disorder in the land The Popes sent legates and missionaries, who tried to bring back order and reform the abuses of the Church, but it was of no good

3 When Henry II proposed that he should lead an army into the land and conquer it, and rule Henry II and Ireland the people well, the Pope made him a grant of Ireland, for he claimed in a strange way to be the lord of all islands.

For a long while Henry was too busy to trouble himself about Ireland. At last, in 1166, Dermot, an Irish king, who had been worsted in a struggle with a rival, came to Henry and asked to be allowed to get Englishmen to help him win back his power. Henry agreed, and love of adventure led many to go and help Dermot. Chief amongst these was Richard de Clre, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke. He at last became so powerful in Ireland that Henry grew alarmed. But Strongbow hastened to Henry's court and promised to hold all his lands in Ireland as vassal of the English king.

It was soon after this, in 1171, that Henry himself went to Ireland. Perhaps he was glad to go there for a while and let men have time to forget Becket's death. He kept his court in a great walled palace outside Dublin. He ordered castles to be built over the land, and made many of the Irish kings and chieftains submit to him. He also gave away lands to many of his followers. If he had been able to stay, he would doubtless have gained a firm hold over the country, but he left Ireland to meet the legates whom the Pope had sent to bring his pardon for Becket's murder.

4. Later on he sent John there to be overlord. But John did not know how to make friends of the Irish chieftains.

John
in Ireland,
1185, He laughed at their rough dresses, and pulled their long beards, with rude jests. He made so many enemies that he had to be called back to England. So far Henry's plans for John had not been very successful, but the English possessions in Ireland went on gradually increasing for the next two hundred years.

Death put an end to the plots of two of his other sons—Henry, who had been crowned King of England under his father, and Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany. Richard

still went on plotting against his father with Philip Augustus, King of France. At last they entered Maine, where Henry was, with an army, before which Henry had to fly, his flight filled England and all Europe with surprise.

The hand of death was upon the conquered king. The cup of his sorrow overflowed when he was shown in a list of the conspirators against him the name of his favourite son, John. 'Now,' he ^{Henry's death, 1189} said, 'let things go as they will, I care no more for myself or for the world.' He was borne on a litter to Chinon, and as he lay dying there he cried out from time to time, 'Shame, shame on a conquered king!' At last he bade them carry him before the altar of the chapel, and his fiery soul passed away after he had taken the last sacraments of the Church.

CHAPTER XI

RICHARD I

1 RICHARD succeeded his father without any difficulty, though Philip of France, his friend before, became his foe the moment his father's death made him King of England. His mother kept order ^{Richard I} for him in England whilst he settled matters with Philip. When he passed over to England, his one wish was to go on the Crusade, and with this object to raise as much money as he could.

Richard was very little in England either before or after he became king. We do not even know whether he could speak English. He was nothing but a soldier, with splendid tastes, a great love of fine clothes, and some feeling for poetry. But he had no care for his

Berengaria of Navarre, who was brought out to him by his mother Eleanor. The wedding was celebrated with much pomp in the island of Cyprus. Here Richard waited till he had won the whole island from its emperor Isaac, who had angered him by seizing the cargoes of some of his ships, which had been wrecked on the coast. After all this delay, Richard at last reached Acre about a year after he had started from England. The Christians in the Holy Land were in sore straits. Saladin had restored the power of the Mussulmans, had rekindled their religious zeal, and wrested everything from the Christians save Tyre and Tripoli, and was pressing hard on the Christian army which lay round Acre. To make matters worse, there were two rival kings of Jerusalem, Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat, and since Richard favoured Guy, Philip of France of course favoured Conrad. No help could be expected from the Germans, for the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa had perished by the way, and but few of his soldiers reached the Holy Land. Richard's arrival quickly changed the state of things at Acre. He was no general, but anything that personal valour could do he did. He was suffering from ague, but he had himself carried on a litter into the camp. A great wooden fortress, which he had had made in Sicily, and called *Mate-Griffon*, was drawn up near the walls, and from the top of it missiles were cast down amongst the Turks. Engines hurled stones against the walls, and mines were dug underneath. The besieged were soon obliged to surrender, and when Saladin would not keep the terms upon which they had agreed, the Crusaders slew all the prisoners, numbering some thousands, who had fallen into their hands. Richard's brave deeds and his fame excited the envy of Philip, who made use of the first excuse he could find to go back to France. Soon afterwards Richard quarrelled also with the Archduke of Austria. There was no one amongst

the Crusaders able to guide and direct matters so as to bring the Crusade to a successful end. Richard gained much fame by his valour, he marched down the coast towards Jerusalem, and won brilliant victories at Arsouf and elsewhere, but he did not know how to use them, and was badly supported by his allies, who did not wish him to have the honour of recovering Jerusalem. When one of his knights once led Richard to a spot in the camp from which Jerusalem could be seen, the King veiled his eyes, and with tears declared that he was not worthy to look on the city which he could not win. Disappointment, and the news that his brother John, with the help of Philip of France, was plotting against him in England and had deposed Longchamp from his offices, made Richard anxious to return home. He concluded a truce of three years, three months, three days and three hours with Saladin, during which pilgrims were to be allowed to visit the Holy Places undisturbed. Then he left Acre, in October, 1192, and, wishing to get home quickly, landed at Ragusa on the Adriatic with a few followers, meaning to pass through Germany in disguise.

Richard's
imprison-
ment, 1192

But he was found out and seized by his old enemy, the Archduke of Austria, who sold him to the Emperor. The Emperor bound

him in chains, and demanded as ransom for him a sum far more than twice the whole revenue of the crown. The money was got together in England with great difficulty, whilst Philip and John did all they could to destroy Richard's power now that he was in prison. 'The Devil is loose take care of yourself,' Philip wrote to John when he heard that at last Richard was free. The Justiciar, Hubert Walter, who was also Archbishop of Canterbury, crushed John's revolt. Hubert Walter was an old servant of the court, who had been trained under Henry II's ministers. He was faithful to the cause of order and good government, and Richard put great trust in him.

4 When Richard came back to England John was banished, and those who had rebelled were punished. The king did not stay long in England, but went to make war against Philip in France, and for the rest of his reign the government was left to Hubert Walter, who carefully worked out all Henry II's reforms. Richard was always sending for money, and Hubert Walter was forced to use every way that he lawfully could for getting money out of the people. England was kept very peaceful. A good many of the great barons were away with the king, those who stayed at home had now learnt that they must obey the laws and the government, for it was of no use to rebel.

5 Richard was busy in France making war on King Philip and punishing those of his subjects who had risen against him. The better to defend Normandy against the King of France, he began to build a great fortress on the Seine. It came to be called Chateau Gaillard, or Saucy Castle, and was one of the strongest and finest fortresses of the Middle Ages. As Richard saw its walls rise he cried with joy, 'How pretty a child is mine!' But Philip's anger was great, and he said, 'I will take it, were its walls of iron.' 'I will hold it,' answered Richard, 'were the walls of butter.'

6 Richard was always in want of money, and hearing that there was rich treasure in the Castle of Chaluz, he led his troops against it. But the castle was strong and would not fall. Richard rode round the walls in anger, and as he rode an arrow struck him in the shoulder. It was a fatal wound. The king lay dying while the castle was taken. He was always generous, and when the man who had shot the arrow was brought to his bedside, he forgave him.

So ended his quarrelsome and stormy life, which had little effect upon English history, since he was little in

England and left the government to his ministers. England was proud of his brave deeds, but he was in all ways a stranger to her, and she only felt his hand in the heavy taxes which burdened her.

CHAPTER XII

LOSS OF NORMANDY

1 JOHN succeeded his brother without any difficulty. According to our ideas young Arthur of Brittany, the son of John's elder brother, Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany, was the rightful heir. But in England men knew nothing of him but his name, and no voice was raised for him.

2 We have seen how John deceived his father and betrayed his brother, and he had no idea of treating the English any better. The men of his time tell us nothing but evil of him. He had all the faults of his family and none of their virtues. Even his vices were mean. He is the worst of all the kings who have ruled over England—a man for whom we can feel no sympathy, even when he suffers most. Like Richard he loved money, but unlike him he was miserly and mean. He did not care for truth or honour, but tried to get on by cunning. He cared neither for law nor religion, though he was very superstitious. He was savage and violent, and punished his foes with horrible cruelty. Even to the ministers who served him well he showed no gratitude, but rather dislike.

3 He was kept at first from going far wrong in England by the Archbishop, Hubert Walter, who became Chancellor that he might the more easily keep John in order. Geoffrey Fitz-Peter

was Justiciar, he too was a wise minister, who had been trained under Henry II, and knew how to care for law and order

John's mother, Eleanor, was of great use to him. She was a very able woman, and even now, though eighty years old, was full of activity and energy. She had not loved her husband, Henry II, and had quarrelled with him and brought much evil upon him. But she loved her sons and did much for them. She helped John to keep together all his possessions in France, which were attacked both by King Philip and by young Arthur of Brittany, who claimed some part of them.

4. John, with the help of his mother, got from Arthur the provinces which he claimed. When Arthur again took up arms, he was defeated by John and taken prisoner. He was carried to Rouen, ^{Death of Arthur, 1203} and there mysteriously disappeared. Everyone believed that he had been murdered by the command of his uncle. This cruel act made the barons of Normandy and the neighbouring provinces all the more ready to turn away from John to Philip II of France.

Philip II had made it the aim of his life to strengthen the power of the Kings of France by humbling the great vassals of the crown. Now he seized his chance of striking a blow at the King of England, who, as Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, was the greatest and most dangerous of his vassals.

5. Philip's troops entered Normandy whilst Queen Eleanor lay dying. Even from her deathbed she wrote letters to the chief barons of Normandy, urging them to be faithful to her son. But ^{Loss of Normandy, 1203} it was of no use. The barons were quite willing to welcome Philip. They had no feelings of loyalty to one who was of the house of Anjou, which had always been their enemy. John himself was not a man

to bind them closely round him. He did not even try to gather a force to lead against Philip. One by one the barons went over to Philip's side, and Normandy was lost without a struggle. It settled down quite peaceably to be a French province, for Philip had the wisdom to let it keep the customs and liberties which it most valued.

When John saw that Normandy was lost he fled to England, and there tried to get together an army to attack Philip, but nothing came of it. In the year 1204 England and Normandy were separated for ever.

The loss of Normandy did much to unite the English people. The Norman barons had to choose whether they would keep their lands in England or in Normandy. Those who stayed in England were quite cut off from Normandy, and this made them thorough Englishmen. The king, too, had to find his home only in England. He stood face to face with his people, and had no other power to fall back upon. He was not far above them, the ruler of a mighty empire, as Henry II had been. They knew his strength, and then learnt to know their own too, and to feel in time that they could resist him if he went too far.

CHAPTER XIII

JOHN'S QUARREL WITH THE POPE

I KING JOHN had lost his mother before he lost Normandy. Not long afterwards, in 1205, he lost his wisest adviser, Hubert Walter. After Hubert's death there was a quarrel about the election of a new bishop.

of a new archbishop. The younger monks at Canterbury chose one man, John, on hearing this, made the elder ones choose another. Both these men hurried to the Pope at Rome with their claims. The Pope at that time, Innocent III, was perhaps the greatest and wisest Pope there has ever been. John thought he would get his own way by bribing the men who were to lay the case before the Pope. But Innocent was not a man against whom cunning was of any use. He put aside both the men who claimed to be archbishop and caused the monks of Canterbury to elect a third, Cardinal Stephen Langton. His choice was a wise one. Stephen Langton was an Englishman, and one of the first scholars of his day.

2 John's anger knew no bounds when he heard what the Pope had done. He said that he would never receive Langton as archbishop. Innocent used a terrible means to force him to submit. He laid ^{The Interdict, 1208} the kingdom of England under an *Interdict*, which means that he forbade the clergy all through the land to do any of the services of the Church. Only the baptism of children was allowed, and that in private. The dead might not be buried in consecrated ground. The people suddenly lost all the help and comfort which they got from the clergy, and were left as sheep without shepherds. John was filled with fury. He answered by seizing the lands of the clergy who obeyed the interdict. He treated the clergy as his enemies, and allowed those who robbed or murdered them to go unpunished.

He did all he could to show men that the Pope might do his worst—he would not care, and all the while the people suffered for his obstinacy. At last five of the bishops fled out of the country, and loud murmurs of discontent were heard amongst the people. To make sure of the barons John took the children of many of them and kept them as hostages, so that if their fathers

rebelled he could punish them by making their children suffer

3 After two years the Pope went farther and *excommunicated* John, that is, he put him out of the communion of the Church, so that no Christian should henceforth have anything to do with him. Even for this John did not care. At last, in 1212, when the interdict had lain on the land for four years, the Pope bade Philip of France lead a crusade against John, the enemy of the Church. He also caused it to be publicly declared that John was no longer king, and that the English owed him no obedience.

4. In the end John seemed to grow afraid, he could not trust his people, and he knew that Philip was very strong. He was very superstitious too, and was much frightened by hearing that it had been prophesied that on the next Feast of the Ascension he would no longer be king. His terror seems to have been quite abject. He gave up at once every point for which he had been struggling. He accepted Stephen Langton as archbishop, and promised to give back the money which he had plundered from the churches. To humble himself utterly he gave up his crown to the Pope and took it back again, doing homage for it as if he were the Pope's vassal. He also promised to pay a fixed sum of money as tribute to Rome every year.

This act filled the people with disgust. They did not like to see their country so humbled before Rome, and the general dislike and distrust of John grew greater every day.

John's ex-
communication,
1209

John's sub-
mission,
1213

CHAPTER XIV.

JOHN'S QUARREL WITH HIS BARONS

1 THE barons were beginning to complain very much of the way in which John treated them. All through his reign they had been most heavily taxed. Several ^{John and the barons} times he had bidden them bring together their forces to follow him to war, and then had made no use of them. The northern barons took the lead in complaining. They were not the men who had sprung from the great Norman families of the Conquest, and who had so often fought against the king for power. They were humbler men who had grown into importance later, and who till now had been always faithful to the king.

In 1213 John's faithful minister, Geoffrey FitzPeter, who had long been Justiciar, died. He had done his best to keep peace between his master and the barons, and to provoke the barons as little as possible, whilst he did John's bidding. With him John quite lost his hold upon the barons, but the king felt no sorrow for the death of his faithful servant. He was glad to have lost him, because it left him free to oppress the people as he liked. When he heard of Geoffrey's death he exclaimed, 'When he arrives in hell he may go and salute Hubert Walter, for by the feet of God now for the first time am I King and Lord of England.'

The new Justiciar was Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, a native of Poitou, and the barons did not like the choice of a foreigner.

2 John had for long planned a great attack upon Philip of France. He had allied himself with the Fin-

peior and the Count of Flanders, and hoped that together they would be able to crush Philip. When his quarrel with the Pope was settled, he called upon the barons to follow him to France and help him to win back the lands he had lost there. The northern barons refused. They said they were not bound to follow the king out of England. At a great council held at St. Albans for the sake of settling Church matters, the barons and the clergy spent much time in talking about the state of the country and the abuses of the government. The same talk went on in another council held in London soon after. In this the lead was taken by Stephen Langton. He was a true lover of his country, and tried in every way to help the people and bring back order and good government. He had tried speaking to John about the abuses of his rule, but found that it did no good. He was now willing to help the barons to force the king to reform.

3 John was enraged when the barons refused to follow him in his French war, and when he saw how they and the clergy were banded together against him. But he felt that it was no good doing anything to punish them then. He made up his mind to go abroad first and make war upon Philip. He trusted that he would gain a great victory and easily win back Normandy. Afterwards, crowned with success, he would come back to England and punish the barons for their disobedience. Meanwhile, too, he hoped to get time to part his enemies, either by threats or bribes, so that there might not be so strong a party against him in the country.

4 Philip of France was attacked by many enemies at once, and was in great danger, but this danger roused his subjects to defend their king. At the battle of Bouvines, on the northern frontier of France, he defeated a great army made up of Germans,

Opposition
to John

War with
France.

Battle of
Bouvines,
1214.

Flemish, and English John was in Anjou at the time When he heard of the battle of Bouvines he saw that all was lost, and that he should be able to do nothing against Philip

CHAPTER XV

STRUGGLE FOR THE GREAT CHARTER

1 **WHILST** John was away the barons and clergy had met together again Stephen Langton had brought to their notice the charter which Henry I had given Opposition to John the people It promised just the good government which they wanted, and made their cause stronger by giving them something clear to ask and fight for The barons swore that unless John would give them a sealed charter, granting them their laws and liberties, they would make war on him till they made him do so They agreed at once to begin to get a force together to help them in their struggle with the king They had little hope that they should be able to get anything from him except by force

In all this the clergy, with Langton at their head, were quite at one with the barons John hoped to be able to part the Church and the barons To do this he granted the Church the privileges which it had long asked for But it was of no use Langton was too true a lover of liberty to be bribed to forsake the people's cause

2 John went on trying to put off the struggle He took the vow of the Crusade, that none might dare to take up arms against him But the barons were not Success of the barons frightened They got their army together and met at a place called Brackley, in Northampton-

shure The clergy had not, of course, taken up arms, and had not been forced to break with the king outwardly. The archbishop, therefore, was one of the men whom John sent to ask the barons what they wanted. He came back with a long list of their demands, which John in anger refused.

Then the barons marched to London, and the Londoners greeted them with joy. This was not, like the revolts of the barons which we have spoken about before, a struggle to gain power for themselves. It was a struggle to get good government for the whole country, for the people as well as the barons. Everyone left John, even the men of his court and household. The whole country was against the king, who had shown himself to be nothing but a brutal tyrant.

3 John was at last obliged to bid the barons meet Runnymede, ¹²¹⁵ him at Runnymede, that they might talk together about their demands and come to some agreement.

Runnymede was a meadow through which the Thames ran, between Windsor and Strines. On one side of the river the barons spread out their forces and put up their tents. On the other side was the king. On an island in the middle of the river, the messengers from either side met and discussed the disputed points.

John, deserted on all sides, was ready to grant anything that was asked, though probably he did not mean to keep his promises. In one day he agreed to the Charter which the barons proposed, and put his seal to it.

4. This charter, which is so important in the history of English liberty that it has always been called *The Great Charter*, was as it were a treaty between the king and his people. In it the interests of the people were considered side by side with the interests of the barons. This is the important point

to mark about it, that for the first time the whole nation, and not only one class in it, rose against the king to fight for its liberties

5 Till now we have always seen the people on the side of the king against the barons. Now the nation had become one. The Normans and the Eng- Union of the nation. lish were one people. They felt that they had the same interests, and that they could get on best by working together.

Under Henry I and Henry II the barons had learnt that it was useless trying to get power for themselves, like the great barons in France, and the people had learnt what good government was. The order that had reigned all over the country had educated the people. They had learnt what law was, what good government was. They had seen the Church resist the king with success even when he seemed most powerful, and from this they had learnt that they too might struggle for their liberty. So it came about that the nation met the king at Runnymede and forced him to put his seal to the Great Charter. The barons in no way acted selfishly, and we do not see in the Great Charter that they tried at all to get new power for themselves.

6 The Great Charter was very like the Charter of Henry I. The barons had taken that charter for their model. But the Great Charter went farther Articles of the Charter than that had done, for since its day many new rights and new claims had sprung up, and now all these had to be thought of.

First of all the Great Charter promised to the Church all its rights, and said clearly that the English Church was to be free. Then it went on to promise that the king would not go beyond his feudal rights in the treatment of his vassals, and would not use unlawful means to get money from them.

7 Its most important articles are those in which the king promised that he would not try to raise the Great money from the nation by a "cavage" or Council order and without the consent of the Great Council. To this council were to be called by name all the great clergy, the earls, and the greater barons. The lesser barons were to be summoned generally in a writ which was to be sent to the sheriffs of their shires. This is important, because it clearly states that the consent of the council was to be given to all taxes, and also states how the Great Council was to be made up. There was nothing new in it, but it had never been put so clearly before. To have the means by which the council hoped to govern themselves so clearly put, must have been a great help in the future progress of the people towards liberty.

8 Legal abuses were also put right by the Great Charter. John had got together a great deal of money Abuses by laying very heavy fines upon offending remedied persons. This was now forbidden, and the old order was brought back into the Exchequer and the Curia Regis.

An end was put to some of the forest abuses. The forests that John had made were to be destroyed, and all the bad customs of the forest law were to be done away with.

One great rule was clearly laid down, that no free man was to be taken and in any way punished save by judgment of his *peers*, or equals, or by the law of the land.

Twenty-five barons were to be chosen by the whole number of barons to see that the charter was carried out. If the king would not hearken to what they said to him, they might make war upon him, so as to force him to observe the Charter.

William the Conqueror and his Children

WILLIAM I (born 1027) = Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V, Count of Flanders

Robert Duke of Normandy
(d. 1134)

WILLIAM II
Rufus
(1087-1100)

HENRY I = Matilda of
Scotland
(1100-1135)

Adela = Eustace, Count of Plois

William
(d. 1119)

Matilda = (1) Emperor Henry V
(d. 1167) = (2) Geoffrey Plantagenet,
Count of Anjou

HENRY II

STEPHEN
(1135-1154)

Henry, Bishop
of Winchester

Henry II and his Sons

HENRY II = Eleanor of Guienne
(1154-1189)

Geoffrey
(d. 1186)

RICHARD I
(1189-1199)

Henry
(d. 1183)

Arthur
(d. 1202)

JOHN = Isabella of Angoulême
(1199-1216)

HENRY III

Matilda =
Henry the Lion

Eleanor =
Alfonso of
Castile

Joanna =
William II
King of Sicily

BOOK III.

RISE OF THE PEOPLE AND GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT.

INTRODUCTION

IN the period of history which this little work deals with, the things that are most worthy of notice are these —

- 1 How Parliament grew up into its present shape.
- 2 How Wales was joined to England, and how an attempt was made to join Scotland also, but without success
- 3 How some English kings strove to win the kingdom of France, and how the English people were thus drawn into a war which lasted for more than a hundred years
4. How great changes came over the people in social matters, how Parliament grew stronger, and some men tried to reform the Church

5 How the barons, towards the end of this period, divided into two parties, and fought for different kings, and how the land was filled with disorder and bloodshed

To show all these things as clearly as possible, the story of each has been told, apart by itself, as much as could be done. Thus, when the growth of parliament is spoken of, no notice is taken of the other things which happened at the same time, because it seems better to tell these under other heads. So the reigns of the different kings have not been kept apart, as is done in many histories, and in passing from one subject to another the order of time in which things happened is not followed. It is seldom found in history that events of great importance start into being all at once, the causes that lead to them go on working for a long time before, and to understand the way in which they take place, it is often needful to begin very far back indeed. In this way the chief things that happened under each head have come to be told under their own head.

CHAPTER I

PARLIAMENT

1 IN many ways the thirteenth century is the most interesting of the Middle Ages. It was a century of great men, great thoughts, and great deeds. But to all of English birth or descent its great glory is, that in it the institution which it is England's chief pride to have founded—Parliament—first grew and was shaped into the form which it still keeps. We might

The
thirteenth
century

almost think that this century had been set apart for this special purpose, it had hardly well begun when the movement towards the building-up of parliament set in, and a few years before it ended Parliament received its finishing touch from the hands of its most intelligent builder, Edward I. Parliament is, moreover, the one abiding result of all the seemingly blind struggling and fighting, in the battle-field and elsewhere, of all the forecast and effort, which made the reigns of John, Henry III and Edward I. among the most stirring in our history.

2 In one sense Parliament was no new thing even at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Already—indeed it might be said from far earlier times—every-
 thing that goes to the making of a perfect Parliament what it is. parliament was to be found in England. By a parliament is meant a national assembly in which all the classes which make up the people of a country are brought together, either in person or by men chosen to represent them. When so met together they talk about, and give a common opinion upon, matters of importance to the whole people. To make this assembly worthy of the name of parliament, no part of the kingdom, and no class of the people whose affairs it deals with, can be shut out from it. Now it is clear that the vast bulk of the people can be present at such an assembly only through their representatives—men chosen by them, and having full power to act for them, and to bind them as completely as if they were themselves present. A full parliament is the whole nation gathered together to do the business of the state. To Parliament are entrusted all the rights and lawful powers that belong to the nation, whatever it does the nation does.

3 Now in the reign of John, and earlier, England had a Great Council of the nation, and had also councils in the shires or counties. At the national council men from

all parts of the country had a right to be present, but those who had this right could only be present themselves, and could not send representatives. At the shire moots, or county courts, groups of men sent from the various parts of the shire for the purpose, represented the whole free folk of the shire, and did business for them. Now Parliament grew up by mixing together the great council and the county courts. When men were sent to the great council to represent the folk of the shire, in the same way as men had long been sent to represent different parts of the shire in the shire court, then we have Parliament. This was done in the thirteenth century, the men who helped most to do it were Simon de Montfort and King Edward I.

4. The National Council in John's time was a gathering, at the king's bidding, of all who held their lands directly from the Crown, both clergymen and laymen. It was like the Meeting of the Wise Men in early times, only more people sat in it, and they were the king's feudal vassals, no longer merely the men of weight in the kingdom. But already the body of tenants-in-chief—as those who held their lands direct from the king were called—had split up into two groups, the greater and the lesser. The greater barons held large lands, and had a right to do business directly with the king. The lesser barons held smaller lands, and dealt with the king only through the sheriffs of their counties. The greater barons, being made up of the greater nobles and the chief dignitaries of the Church, became the House of Lords in the full-grown Parliament. The lesser barons, as time went on, seem to have mixed with the other folk who held lands in the shires. Their representatives were the knights of the shire who sat in the House of Commons.

5. But the Shire-moot even in the twelfth century was a perfect parliament of the shire. To it came not only all

the landholders of the shire, clerical and lay, but also twelve lawful men from each borough, and four men with the reeve from each township. They were bound to meet the king's justice when he came into their shire, and help him to do the king's business, in judging lawsuits and other matters. Thus in the beginning of the thirteenth century we have all that is needed to make a full parliament of the kind that now meets at Westminster. We have a national assembly, and we have the custom of doing the nation's business through men whom the people have chosen to act for them. We have, too, little parliaments in the shires which might be used as patterns for making a national parliament.

6 As early as 1213, signs that the National Council was about to take the shape of the Shire-moot began to show themselves. In this year John summoned to the great council which he called at St Albans not only the bishops and the barons, but also the reeve and four lawful men from each township in the royal demesne, as the lands the king kept in his own hands were called. A few months later he commanded the sheriffs of the several counties to 'cause to come' to him at Oxford, 'four discreet men' from each county, to 'talk with him' on the affairs of the kingdom. The parliament of St Albans is believed to be the first clear case in our history of a national representative assembly.

7 It is, moreover, worthy of notice that everything that went to make up our Parliament is of English origin. The notion of giving certain classes of the people a place in the highest assembly of the nation, by means of men chosen to represent them, was nothing new. It was only the same principle that had been acted upon in the local meetings of the English from the earliest times. The national council

The
shire moot

First
national
representa
tion

Parliament
& native
growth

was what the Meeting of the Wise became after the Norman conquest, and the shire-moot was among the very oldest institutions of the country. But the word 'parliament' (from the French word 'parler,' to talk) is foreign, and was in use on the Continent long before it appeared in England, and the parts that make it up were brought together by the way in which our foreign kings ruled the nation. If the Norman conquest had not taken place, an assembly like our parliament might have come into being, but it could hardly have been the same as that which we now have.

CHAPTER II

THE FIGHT TO KEEP THE GREAT CHARTER

1 WHEN the barons parted from King John after making him sign the Great Charter in June, 1215, their work was not even half done. They had won the Great Charter, but a harder task was still before them—to keep it. England had to endure two years of civil war, disorder, and misery before the Great Charter could be made sure. For John was as false to his word in this as in every other thing he did or said. A few months after the day of Runnymede he put himself at the head of an armed force that had been hired for him on the Continent and had gathered on the southern coast. The barons marched against him with their followers. At first John was everywhere successful. Pope Innocent took upon himself to condemn the conduct of the barons and annul the Charter, and when the barons would not submit to his judgment he excommunicated them. At the same time the great archbishop, Stephen Langton, went to Rome to plead before Inno-

Baronial
war breaks
out again

cent the nation's cause and his own, but he was forbidden to go back to England until the troubles were ended. The barons, too, acted feebly and began to look to France for help. John was thus able to work his wicked will upon the country for a season. He took Rochester, and then setting his brother, the Earl of Salisbury, with a part of his mercenaries, to keep watch on London, where the strength of his enemies lay, he led the rest northwards. For the moment there was nothing to stop him. He went through England, burning and ravaging, entered Scotland, whose king had taken part with the barons, set Berwick on fire, mercilessly wasted the Lowlands, and turning southwards while it was still winter, recovered Colchester, which had been lost in his absence. London was now the last shelter of English freedom.

2 Soon, however, the tide turned. The barons had been for some time in treaty with France, and in May, 1216, the heir to the French crown, Lewis, landed in Thanet with a powerful army. Lewis of France comes to England. Lewis was the husband of Henry II's granddaughter, Blanche of Castile, and now came to England to try and win the crown which the English nobles had offered him as a means of escaping from the power of John. John, distrusting his foreign troops now that a prince of their own race confronted him, fell back upon the western shires, and Lewis led his army to London, where he was warmly welcomed. For a time all went well with the barons and their ally. John's hirelings deserted him in great numbers, even his brother Salisbury passed over to the enemy, and in a few months little of his kingdom remained to him except the Welsh marches and a few strongholds, such as Dover, where Hubert de Burgh fought nobly for a cause that seemed utterly lost.

3 But John was not beaten yet. The barons became after a time suspicious of their ally and jealous of French influence, the national dislike of foreigners began to work in the minds of the people, and Lewis was losing ground in England. John was able to march into the midland counties, to drive off the besiegers of Windsor, and even to relieve Lincoln. The relief of Lincoln was, however, his last exploit, as he was on his way back he was seized with a serious illness at Swineshead, and died at Newark (October, 1216).

4 The men who were on John's side at once set up his son Henry, and had nine years old, in his place. Pope Innocent III was now dead, but Pope Honorius, who came after him, behaved in the same way. His legate, Gualo, crowned the young king at Gloucester, received from him the oath of fealty to his master, and threw all the influence of the Roman Church into his scale. William Marshall the elder, the great Earl of Pembroke, an old statesman who had taken part in the troubles of Henry II's time, was chosen 'ruler of the king and kingdom'. One of his first acts in his new office was to re-issue the Great Charter in a great council at Bristol. It was not, however, quite the same charter as that which John had granted, something was added, but still more was taken away, the sixty-three clauses of the original charter being cut down to forty-two. Most of the points which were left out were of small importance, but two of them were a real loss. These were, (1) that which set bounds to the royal will in raising scutages and aids, and (2) that which bound the king to call together the national council in a formal manner when he wanted to assess other than the lawfully fixed scutages or aids. The final clause, however, held out a hope that these might afterwards be restored.

This acceptance of the Charter by the king's friends was an act of great wisdom. It shook to its base the alliance between Lewis and the barons, and for the first time in the struggle enlisted the papal power in the cause of English freedom. First in the list of distinguished men who appear as advising that the king should give way and agree to the Charter, was Gualo, the papal legate.

5 The death of John in reality gave the victory to the party of the young king, which now came to be looked on more and more as the national party. Many who had taken up arms against the tyranny of the father, saw no reason to continue the struggle with the son, especially as great part of what they were fighting for had been freely granted them. So they at once joined the king. A short truce gave both sides time to gather together all their strength for the decisive struggle. When the truce was over the main body of the French moved, under the Count of Perche and Robert Fitzwalter, to the siege of Lincoln castle. Whilst so engaged they were fiercely attacked in the town by Pembroke's army Fair of Lin
coln, 1217 and utterly routed. The Count of Perche was killed, Fitzwalter and many other men of high rank were taken, and the besieging force slain or scattered. So easily won was the victory, and so great was the spoil gained by it, that it was called the Fair of Lincoln (May, 1217).

6 Yet Lewis did not give up the contest, it needed another defeat to drive him from England. By the efforts of his wife, Blanche, a fresh force was raised in France and sent towards the English coast in a fleet of eighty ships, commanded by Eustace the Monk, a notable pirate of the day. But this force never landed. For in the meantime Hubert de Burgh had slipped out of Dover gathered together about forty ships from the southern ports, and pushed after Eustace. He overtook him off

Sandwich, and at once fell upon the French fleet. Partly by skilful seamanship, partly by valour and daring, he entirely overthrew it (August, 1217).

7 Lewis was now closely besieged in London. Seeing no hope of relief, he yielded. A treaty was made at Lambeth, in which he and his English followers received favourable terms. No one of them was to suffer for the part he had taken against the king. Lewis was to be paid a certain sum, which was said to be owed him, but was, perhaps, really given to get him to go away sooner.

✓ Peace of Lambeth 1217 This treaty was followed soon afterwards by a second re-issue of the Great Charter. Some new clauses were added, raising the number to forty-seven, but those which had been left out in the Charter of 1216 were not restored. Six weeks later another charter, that of the Forest, was published. In this the forest clauses of the Great Charter were embodied, and it disforests, or puts again under the common law of England, all the forests created in the two previous reigns. By this charter, also, the men who dwelt within those forests that were left could no longer be punished so brutally for killing the king's deer as they had formerly been, and were allowed to plough their lands and do other things that were needful for making their farms productive.

CHAPTER III

THE BARONS' WAR

1 AFTER the peace of Lambeth the land had rest from civil war for forty-six years. Often during these years there was disorder and discontent on every side, but from

1217 to 1263 there was peace so far that no class of the people took up arms against injustice in high places. It seems indeed to have been a fairly prosperous ^{Reign of} and happy time for the folk who dwelt in the ^{Henry III} country, and it is certainly a time of great importance to the men of after-days, for in it gradually grew up those forces which created Parliament.

Let us notice the important things which helped on the growth of Parliament. (1) There was a slow but steady advance of the custom of representatives of the people going to the great assembly of the nation. (2) There grew up for the first time a practice which became very common and very useful in later days—that of granting money to the king in return for his solemnly acknowledging the nation's rights. (3) The wrongs which the nobles had to endure from the Court became so manifold and were so galling to their pride as to rouse them at last to take steps to put a stop to them.

2 (1) The first of these points is seen in the greater frequency with which the counties were called upon to choose 'discreet knights' to instruct the king, or to attend on behalf of their county in the national council. Thus in 1226 it is directed that four be chosen from each county to instruct the king, in 1254 two were to be chosen to attend the great council. Indeed it may be safely said that before this period ended, chosen knights of the shire had come to be looked upon as a needful part of every lawful parliament. The word 'parliament' was first used in 1246 as the name of the common council of the kingdom, and ^{First use of word 'parliament,' 1246} is at this time so often found in historical writings that it may be regarded as having taken the place of the old name of great council.

3 (2) Of the way in which money was given to the king in return for his granting liberties many instances

might be given, but one will be enough. The last clause of the third re-issue of the Great Charter—which was made in 1225, and is noteworthy as giving the Charter its final shape—states that in return for the king's grace in bestowing the liberties contained in the charter, his subjects have given him 'a fifteenth of their moveables'. Formerly land only had been taxed, but as wealth increased the king thought he might raise money from his people's 'goods' as well, and sent his servants every now and then throughout the land to ask the towns, freeholders, knights, and even the clergy for a share of their goods. If it were granted him it was assessed and levied by the king's officers, and paid into the treasury.

4. (3) The dealings of the king with his nobles must be told at greater length. William Marshall died in 1219. The management of affairs then passed to Hubert de Burgh, a wise, just, and vigorous ruler. In spite of many difficulties and much opposition, Hubert beat down the wild spirits which the strife of 1215-17 had given birth to. He drove out of the kingdom the remnant of the armed hirelings whom John had brought over, and did much to bring back the authority of the law. He was not popular, however, and in 1232 he lost the favour of the king, who was now grown to manhood, and so fell from power.

By this time Henry's character had shown itself, and he proved to be, if not one of the worst, yet certainly one of the most useless of our kings. He had many good qualities,—was kind-hearted, generous, and pious, but he was also thrifless, unsteady, without judgment, and—perhaps from weakness of purpose—too often false to his word.

5 Accordingly, when Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, took Hubert's place as the king's chief

adviser, he did not succeed in keeping it for more than a few years. And soon after this we find Henry undertaking to carry on the work of government without any settled adviser whatever. For ^{Peter des Poches, 1232-1234} twenty-four years (1234-1258) the post of chief justiciar—from the time of the Conquest the highest under the Crown—and for seventeen years (1244-1261) that of chancellor, were left unfilled. But, like all men of feeble character, Henry loved favourites, and during these years he seems to have been like clay in the hands of foreign adventurers, who flocked to England from many parts of the Continent, from Poitou, Provence, and Savoy.

6 Indeed, the willingness of Henry to let foreigners do what they chose in England was his great wrong-doing. It was an outrage upon the feelings and interests of the native English nobility which ^{Foreigners rule Eng-land} they could not forgive. It made them take the rule of the country out of the king's hands for a time, and at last drove them to make war upon him. Henry was a good son, and was willing to provide for his foreign half-brother. For after John's death, his wife Isabella wedded the Count of La Marche from whom John had once carried her off, and bore him many children. Four of her sons came over to England and received lands and honours that ought in justice to have gone to Englishmen. Henry was also a good husband, and when (1236) he married Eleanor of Provence, his wife's needy kinsmen had to be provided for in England. One of her uncles, Boniface of Savoy, became Archbishop of Canterbury, an office for which his extreme youth and violent temper made him quite unfit, another, Peter of Savoy, got large estates—among others, that part of modern London which is still called the Savoy; and a third, William Valence, became so powerful with the

king that only his unexpected death in 1239 is believed to have saved the nation from an earlier outbreak of the Barons War. The success of these foreigners grew over others, who also prospered. The evil went on growing until the leading men of the nation could bear it no longer and set about devising means of checking it.

7 Another mischief of a similar kind worked to the same end, and is important as having helped to set the English Church on the side of the national party. The Pope claimed the right not only of levying money from the English clergy under the name of tallages, but also of providing for his Italian servants by presenting them to benefices and preferments in England. This latter usurped right he used with so little moderation that at one time Italian clergymen drew every year from the revenues of the English Church 50,000 marks, worth more than half a million of pounds now.

8 Added to all this, the king was very often asking for money, so that every class of the people felt much of their wealth slipping away from them. Henry spent a great deal of money on his own wants and pleasures. He was also for a long time at war with France, and once or twice tried to win back the dominions of his forefathers that John had lost. He always failed disgracefully in these attempts after spending a great deal of money. At last in an evil hour for himself he was tempted by the Pope to go blindly into a scheme for making his second son Edmund, king of Sicily, and soon found himself pledged to pay large sums to the Pope for this purpose. He twice asked the great council for an aid, but both times it was refused. Then the angry barons, believing that the king's misrule could not be met by ordinary ways, began a movement which led in the course of a few years to the great Barons' War and to the

meeting of the first national assembly that had in it all the elements of a full parliament. It is this which makes the rising of the barons so important.

9 The soul of the movement was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. The great earl, known in later times among the common people as Sir Simon the Righteous, was himself the child of foreign Simon de Montfort. parents. He was, however, the grandson of an English woman, Amicia, daughter of Robert, Earl of Leicester. Thus, the great champion of England against foreigners was himself but one-fourth an Englishman. It is remarkable, too, that he belonged originally to the very class which he afterwards made it the fixed purpose of his life to withstand. Born early in the century, and being a younger son, he came to England in 1232. There he found favour with the king, and found still greater favour with the king's sister, Eleanor, the widowed Countess of Pembroke, whom, to the great disgust of the native nobility, he succeeded in making his wife. Then Henry began, seemingly without cause, to dislike and fear him, but he steadily rose in the good opinion of the nation. By his conduct in various parts of the world—England, Gascony, the Holy Land—he showed that he had all the qualities of a great leader, and in 1258 he was felt to be the one man best fitted to stand at the head of the party of the barons.

10 The Barons first took action in the parliament that met at London in April, 1258. It was a stormy meeting, and lasted for an unusually long time, almost a month, but the upshot was that the king agreed to give to twenty-four barons full powers to reform the course of government. Of these barons half were to be chosen by himself, half by the Barons, in a second Provisions of Oxford,
1258 parliament, which was fixed to meet at Oxford. The Oxford parliament came together in June. The

twenty-four were chosen. From these four others were sifted, and these four in turn named a council of fifteen, who were to advise the king in all things. Two other committees were made, one of them, twelve in number, to represent the community in three annual parliaments. These and some other regulations then made are known as the Provisions of Oxford. The king swore to observe them, and all the king's friends—his elder son, Edward, among them—took the same oath. The council of fifteen, led by its greatest member, Earl Simon, now drew to themselves all the king's powers. They called upon the foreigners to give up the king's castles, and Earl Simon loyally surrendered Kenilworth and Odiham. When the De Valences—the king's half-brothers—resisted the demand, they were driven from the kingdom.

11 For a time this council ruled England. But they were slow in making the promised reforms, and when, towards the end of 1259, they yielded to the pressure put upon them by Edward and the other barons, and published a paper of Reforms, called the Provisions of the Barons, these did not give satisfaction. Henry longed to break loose from their control, but was for a time kept in check by the refusal of his son Edward to join him in throwing off the yoke of the council. This body, therefore, though weakened by a quarrel that sprang up between Earl Simon and Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, still held supreme sway. But in 1261 the king was released from his oath by the Pope, and wrested the authority from the barons, whereupon De Montfort withdrew to France.

12 A time of confusion followed, lasting for two years, during which many fruitless efforts were made to settle the dispute. This came to a head in 1263. Richard de Clare was now dead, his son Gilbert warmly supported Leicester, and

The
baronial
council

Civil war
breaks out
1263.

civil war broke out in the west and south. There were marchings of armies, sieges, and takings of towns and castles, but no pitched battle. Then an agreement was made to refer the whole quarrel to King Lewis of France, son of the Lewis who had come to England in 1216, and who was known in later times by the name of St. Lewis, because he was a very holy man. Both sides solemnly undertook to abide by his decision, whatever it might be. Lewis came to Amiens, and after hearing the case of each, gave judgment in January, 1264.

13 His judgment, which was known as the Award of Amiens, was altogether in favour of the king. By it, the provisions of Oxford were annulled, Henry was allowed to keep as many foreigners as he liked in his service, but at the same time the Great Charter was declared to be binding on the crown.

Award of
Amiens,
January,
1264

14 The barons easily found reasons for refusing to abide by the Award, and war broke out a second time. While Henry was making head in the midland counties, Earl Simon was besieging Rochester. This was a valuable post, and Henry marched to relieve it. Learning, however, whilst on his way, that the earl had left Rochester, he went on southwards to attack the southern ports, which were on the baronial side. De Montfort followed, and came up with him at Lewes. There, in May, 1264, he gained the great victory which made possible the meeting of what is generally called the first

War breaks
out again,
1264

Battle of
Lewes,
May, 1264

English parliament. The loss of the battle is usually said to have been owing to the blindness of Prince Edward's wrath. He was furious with the men of London for the way in which they had insulted his mother some time before. Having broken their division in the first onset, he chased them for miles in his rage, and when he came back found that the battle was lost. The king and his

brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall—who had been elected King of Germany in 1257—were made prisoners, and Edward in accordance with a treaty that followed, called the *Treaty of Dover*, gave himself as a ransom for his father.

15 Thus de Montfort once more became master of England in all but name. He kept the royal power, and ruled as a sovereign, and was therefore able to carry out such measures as he pleased, without needing to consult the King. He made or made in chief, in the old sense of governing. A parliament met in June and put the government in the hands of the King and a council of nine. The year 1264 was a very eventful one, but its most fruitful event was its issue. In December writs were sent in the King's name to certain churchmen, clergy, and barons, to the shires, cities, and boroughs throughout England, commanding the former three to come in person, the latter three to send representatives, to a parliament that was to be held at London in the following January. This meeting took place at the appointed time in due course. Thus came to, either the first or the second, the first common council of the kingdom that contained everything which a full English parliament ought to contain. It may not have been fairly summoned—only 23 members of the lay nobility received writs, whilst 117 members of the higher clergy were called to it. It may have been forced that brought it into being, as the King was not master of his actions at the time. It may have been nothing new, and perhaps only used what had been already common on a smaller scale. But there is no doubt that it was the first meeting together of the lords spiritual and temporal, knights of the shire, and citizens and burgesses, for the general purposes of the whole nation. The lower clergy certainly had no voice in it, but the lower clergy, though in name still a part of

parliament, in practice have never, except for a short time, been represented in it as a separate estate

16 The parliament of 1265 sat a good while, and did a good deal to strengthen still further the power of Leicester. But shortly after it broke up, his power began to decay. The Earl of Gloucester took offence at the conduct of his chief, and, like his father, went over to the enemy. Edward, too, escaped from his keepers, and the royalists, thus encouraged, rose in arms. The earl, though a practised warrior, proved no match in the field for his young and active foe—once his pupil and friend. In August he crossed the Severn from Wales, to join his troops to those of his son Simon, who had brought a force from the south-east to meet him. Halting for a night at Evesham, he was just getting ready to start the next morning when Edward appeared. Edward had surprised and scattered the younger Simon's army at Kenilworth two days before, and now he came down suddenly to destroy the elder Simon's in overwhelming force. He gained his object, de Montfort's army was overthrown, de Montfort himself and his son Henry were slain (August 4, 1265).

War breaks
out a third
time

Battle of
Evesham,
August,
1265

17 The day of Evesham did not end the war. The remnant of the baronial party, made desperate by the refusal of the victors to grant them terms, still held out in Kenilworth Castle and elsewhere. Edward fought on with his usual earnestness, and stormed Winchelsea with a cruelty not usual with him, but war still lingered. The royal party began to be less stern, and towards the end of 1266 they issued the 'dictum de Kenilworth,' in which terms of restoration to their honours and lands—hard, indeed, but still not unreasonable—were granted to those of the rebels who would lay down their arms. The de Montfort family

War of the
Disin-
hented

alone was treated with great severity, every member of it was to leave the kingdom. Kenilworth surrendered but some little time passed before the terms were finally accepted by all. At last, in July 1267, Ely, where the most obstinate held out, was yielded to the king, and the Barons' war ended, seemingly in the utter defeat of the principles for which the great Earl of Leicester had laid down his life.

CHAPTER XV

EDWARD I AND PARLIAMENT

1 BUT de Montfort's cause did not die with him. Parliament, indeed, had fallen to pieces once more, but before the century was over its parts were to be again gathered together into a firm and lasting shape by the very hand that crushed de Montfort. In a few years (November, 1272) King Henry died, and Edward, then absent on a crusade, was raised to his place. Shortly after the new king's return to England (August, 1274), the forces that had before 1265 been steadily making parliament a necessity of the Constitution set to work again, and never paused until, in 1295, Edward found it advisable to call an assembly which represented all classes of the nation even more thoroughly than that of 1265 had done. Edward loved power well and to have his own way, yet he loved his people too, and doubtless he would have helped on the growth of parliament, even if it had not served his own ends. But what did most to bring about the great result was the discovery which he made, that the consent of the various classes of his subjects could be gained to taxation more readily through an assembly in which those classes

Rebuilding
of parlia-
ment, 1267

should be present either in person or by the men whom they chose to act for them, than by any other way

2 After the growing wealth of the country had begun to tempt the king to raise money for his uses from 'moveables, it became customary for the king's officers, whenever the king was in need of money, to visit the counties and towns, and ask them to make him a grant. Even then, however, he dealt with the people through their representatives. The county court was dealt with as having power to bind the county, the magistrates of a town as having power to bind their town, and the archdeacons as having power to bind the lower clergy. The knights of the shire had come to be looked upon as a part of the national council or parliament, and a grant of money made by this body was supposed to be made by all classes in the realm except the boroughs and lower clergy. These latter classes had still to be treated with separately—a course which caused much delay and other inconvenience, and a feeling grew up that it would be much easier to get all that was wanted from one assembly. For instance, in 1282, King Edward I, while in Wales warring with Llewellyn, first gained through an agent from the counties and boroughs a supply which turned out much smaller than was needed. When he wanted more he called together, by writs addressed to the archbishops and sheriffs, two meetings of clerical and two of lay representatives, those of the southern province at Northampton, those of the northern at York. The laymen of both assemblies readily voted him a thirtieth of their 'moveables'.

3 Still, these bodies were not even provincial parliaments, they lacked the higher clergy and lay nobility to make them such. Next year (1283) Edward brought together at Acton Burnel another body, called in history a parliament, but, though representatives of the shires and of twenty-one towns sat in—

Parliament
of Acton
Burnel,
1283

it, this assembly has no right to the name of parliament, for not only were the clergy of every rank absent from it, but also the royal summons was sent direct to the towns, and not through the sheriff, which would have been the constitutional method. Other central assemblies followed, but to each was wanting something that a lawful parliament could not be without.

4 At last, in 1295, King Edward took the final step. He had in that year a French war and a Welsh rebellion on his hands, and had, moreover, grave cause to be uneasy about Scotland. To win the hearty goodwill of his own subjects was an important point, and accordingly, towards the end of 1295, he gathered at Westminster an assembly that was in every sense a national parliament. The writs calling it together were issued in the way that the Constitution directed. The three estates were present, even the lower clergy were represented. On its coming together it straightway fulfilled the sole duty of a parliament in those days—voted the king a supply. Edward seems to have been fully aware of the importance of the step he was taking. In the writ addressed to the archbishop he uses language which shows his sense that parliament was to become a necessary part of the State in England. 'It is a most just law,' he says, 'that what concerns all should be approved of by all, and that common dangers should be met by measures provided in common.' The lower clergy ceased to sit in parliament after a time, but, with this exception, since 1295 every national council worthy to be called a parliament has been made up of the same parts as that of 1295.

5 Two years later (1297) the one thing still wanting to give the finishing touch to the building-up of parliament—a solemn acknowledgment by the king that it alone had power to tax the nation—was gained. The great Scottish

war had broken out, and Edward, in his extreme need of money, acted rather tyrannically. He demanded a large grant from the clergy, and when they would not give it, withdrew from them the protection of the law. He seized the wool in the hands of the merchants—though only as a loan—and did many other things which set at naught the rights of the people. The barons resisted, the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford refused either to lead an army to Gascony—which, as marshal and constable, Edward thought they were bound to do—or to go with the king to Flanders. When Edward went to Flanders they took advantage of his absence to force on the Government at home, and finally on Edward also, a confirmation of the charters (the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forest). But there were added seven new clauses, in which the king promised, among other things, to take from his people no ‘aids, tasks, or prises, but by the common assent of the realm saving the ancient aids and prises due and accustomed.’ This was a full grant to parliament of what has been called the power of the purse, which for many years simply meant that without a vote of parliament the crown had no lawful means of adding to its fixed income raised from feudal and other sources.

Confirmation
of the
charters,
1297

CHAPTER V

WALES

I FOREMOST among the events that hastened the growth of parliament are the conquest of Wales (1277–1283), and the attempt to conquer Scotland (1296–1328). The king’s income was too small to enable him to do more

than meet the outlay which his duties as a king made necessary. When he wanted to carry on war, he had to ask his people to give him more money. The need of an easy way of getting at the different classes of the people, or the *Estates of the Realm*, as they were called, made the use of the parliament to be more felt than it would have been in peaceful times.

2 The Wales that was conquered by Edward I was only part of the country formerly and now so called.
 From the time of the Norman Conquest it had been steadily lessening before the almost constant war which the English barons, settled on its borders, waged with its princes. They had pressed especially into the southern parts and laid hold of them. In 1277 Wales had shrunk into little more than half its former size, and even the ruler of this region had been for a long time a vassal of the English king, bound to do him homage when it was asked from him.

3 Now, when Edward became king, he summoned Llewellyn, then the Prince of Wales, to come up to his coronation and do him homage. Llewellyn refused. He was again and again summoned, but in vain. He either made groundless excuses, or would come only on conditions which could not be granted. Edward had, moreover, an old grudge against him, because he had helped the baronial party in the wars of Earl Simon. Llewellyn did his best to bring the quarrel to a head. He more than once broke across the borders of his principality, and plundered the lands of his English neighbours. Edward bore this for some time, but in 1276 he could bear it no longer. He called together his great lords, and told them all that Llewellyn had done. These lords were Llewellyn's peers or *equals*, for they and Llewellyn alike held their lands from King Edward, and by law they alone had power to pass judgment on a

brother peer who was charged with having sinned against the king. They gave Edward authority 'to go upon Llewellyn', and the war with Wales began.

4. A single campaign was enough. In the summer of 1277 Wales was assailed at the same time from the south, east, and north. The king in person led an army from Chester to Anglesey. The Welsh prince was forced to his knees without a battle. Edward was a generous foe, he was content with getting from Llewellyn a promise to do homage to him at Rhuddlan and at London, to pay a fine of 50,000*l*, and a yearly rent of 1,000 marks (a mark was the two-thirds of a pound). These sums were about equal in value to 1,000,000*l* and 13,000*l* of our money. He took back also into his own kingdom some lands east of the Conway which had been lost in an earlier war. The first and last of these conditions he meant to be kept, the fine and the yearly rent for Anglesey he afterwards gave up. Llewellyn came to London, did homage, and was allowed to marry Eleanor de Montfort, Earl Simon's daughter. She had some time before fallen into English hands when on her way to Llewellyn, to whom she had been betrothed. The Welsh difficulty seemed thus to be fairly ended.

5. It was not so, however. In 1282, Llewellyn's brother, David, who had taken the English side in 1277, and who thought that the broad lands which had been given him in England were a poor reward for his services, burst with a body of followers into Hawarden Castle on Palm Sunday. There he seized Roger Clifford, one of the king's justices, and killed the knights and esquires that were with him. Then the united forces of David and Llewellyn passed across the marches, wasted the lands, burnt the homesteads, and slew the inhabitants, men and women, young and old.

Second war
in Wales,
1282

alike Edward was taken by surprise, but at once went to Shrewsbury, with his mind made up to end his Welsh troubles by entirely doing away with Wales as a separate state. Again Wales was attacked from different points at the same time. One army pierced it from the south-east, whilst the king in person followed his old line of march along the northern coast, and again entered Anglesey. But Llewellyn still held out. The English primate tried in vain to persuade him to throw himself on the king's mercy. A check which the English received in making their way across the Menai Straits from Anglesey gave him fresh courage. In reality this small success only led him to his ruin. He was emboldened by it to go southwards and face the army which Mortimer and Gifford were leading along the line of the

Llewellyn
killed and
Welsh war
ends, 1282

Wye. Near Buith he was caught unawares at a distance from his own men, and cut down, in a desperate effort to get back, by an English knight called Frankton. His fall ended the war.

When the summer of 1283 came, the last Welsh castle had surrendered, and David was a prisoner. Later in the year a parliament, called together to deal with David's case, met at Shrewsbury. In its presence the Welshman was found guilty of murder, treason, and sacrilege. For these crimes he was doomed to be

David of
Wales exe-
cuted 1283

drawn to the gallows, hanged, disembowelled, and quartered—penalties that were until very lately the legal punishment of treason. He

was executed accordingly.

6 Edward took great pains to settle the future government of Wales wisely and justly. He passed a whole year

Settlement
of Wales
1283-4

in the country that he might do so. His aim was to rule Wales in the same way in which he ruled England, without actually joining it to

his kingdom. He gave his eldest son, Edward—called

'of Caernarvon,' as having been born there in 1284—the title of Prince of Wales. He cut up the principality into shires after the English fashion. He set up English law so far as he thought it would suit a folk like the Welsh. But Wales was still kept apart from England. Except on two occasions (1322 and 1327) it had no voice in the national parliament until Henry VIII, himself of Welsh descent, gave it, in 1536, the right of sending up members to the English House of Commons. Edward's way of dealing with Wales was on the whole successful. Of course the Welsh people were not content, but they made only two serious risings against English rule—one in 1295 and one under Owen Glendower in Henry IV's reign. This proves how solid and thorough Edward's workmanship was.

CHAPTER VI

SCOTLAND

1 TWELVE years later Edward was led, partly by the course of things, partly of his own will, to take in hand the conquest of Scotland. This he did because he wished to join together all the parts of Britain into a single state. It turned out to be a much harder task to conquer Scotland than to conquer Wales. He worked at it earnestly for the last eleven years of his life (1296-1307), but when he died it was still unfinished. And chiefly because of the feebleness of those who came after him it never was finished. In 1328 Scotland got the ruling power in England to grant that it was entirely independent. Afterwards it was only by the weaker nation giving the stronger a king that at last, in 1603, the two kingdoms passed into the hands of the same ruler.

Attempt to
conquer
Scotland
1296-1328

2 The race that took the chief part in fighting against Edward were of the same origin as the English themselves. It was Lothian—as the country that lies between the Tweed and the Forth was called—and the lowlands of Aberdeenshire that sent forth the most stubborn foes to Edward. This Lothian had once been a part of England, for the name ‘Scotland’ up to the tenth century meant only Ireland, as late as the Conqueror’s time it meant only that part of modern Scotland which stretches from the Forth to the Spey. But in Edward I’s time Scotland took in Lothian as well. So men came to call themselves *Scots* who were really as much of English blood as the men of Kent. Their speech was English, their form of government was like that of the English. They had even gone through a kind of Norman Conquest, for in the twelfth century Norman chiefs had gone to Scotland to see what they could win for themselves. They had won lands and titles there, and had got on so well that in a hundred years most of the chief Scottish nobles were Norman by birth and habits. But the common folk of the lowlands, even of those north of the Forth, were mostly Teutonic. These men had become proud of their independence, and now fought for it. They now held themselves aloof from both the highlanders of the north and north-west and the men of Galloway on the west—many of whom even took the English side in the quarrel—, and after keeping up a seemingly hopeless struggle for years, they won in the end.

3 Nor were the English and Scots as yet much divided in feeling from each other. They were far from being such deadly foes as they afterwards became. Indeed things had rather gone to bring them together than to keep them asunder. Most of the rulers of Scotland for 200 years had been English barons as well as Scottish

kings Many of their nobles had as great an interest in the English as in the Scottish kingdom, since they owned broad lands in both The names of Bruce and Baliol are often found in the roll of fighters on one side or the other in the wars of the English barons with their king For 100 years, too, there was unbroken peace between the kindred peoples for it was King Alexander's alliance with his brother barons of England that drew upon Scotland the furious foray of 1216

4 Some say that a Scottish king of those days was something more than an English baron, that he was a vassal of the English crown for his Scottish kingdom We cannot clearly show that this was so or was not so It is true that Scottish kings often did homage and service to the English king before as well as after the Norman Conquest But it is also certain that most, if not all, of these held lands in England, and it is therefore possible that their homage and service were for their English lands only Yet many cases of this kind are found—from Malcolm, who 'bowed to' Canute in 1031, to Alexander III, who became the liege man of Edward I 'against all nations' There is, too, much doubt about one or two of these kingly vassals being English barons, so that it is most likely that some loose feudal tie did bind the northern to the southern king In any case Edward I certainly believed himself to have good grounds for claiming some sort of supremacy over Scotland, when he was called upon to judge who had the best right to its throne

5 Scotland was enjoying the blessings of a long peace, and was steadily growing in wealth and prosperity, when its king, Alexander III, the last male descendant of William the Lion, fell over the cliffs at Kinghorn, and was killed (1286) All his children had died before him, and the next in succession

The
so called
vassalage
Scotland

Alexander
III of Scot
land dies,
1286

was the only child of his daughter Margaret and her husband, Eric, king of Norway. The title of this girl, who was also called Margaret, was at once admitted by the Scots. Steps were taken to bring her to her kingdom, and guardians of the Scottish realm were named to rule in the meantime.

6 This state of things lasted until 1290. King Edward does not appear to have thought of interfering—indeed from 1286 to 1289 he was absent from his own kingdom on Gascon and other affairs. But in 1289 he began to take a lively interest in a matter that touched him so nearly. In this year Eric of Norway and the guardians of Scotland applied to him for counsel and help, and he managed to settle things in a way which pleased all parties. In the summer of 1290 the estates of Scotland met at Brigham near the Border, and joyfully agreed to the marriage of Margaret of Norway with Edward of Caernarvon, on condition that Scotland should always remain a separate kingdom, with its 'rights, laws, and liberties' unchanged.

Treaty of
Brigham,
1290

Margaret
dies, 1290

But a few months later, the death of the child, Margaret, at Orkney—where she had landed while on her way to her kingdom—threw the affairs of Scotland once more into confusion.

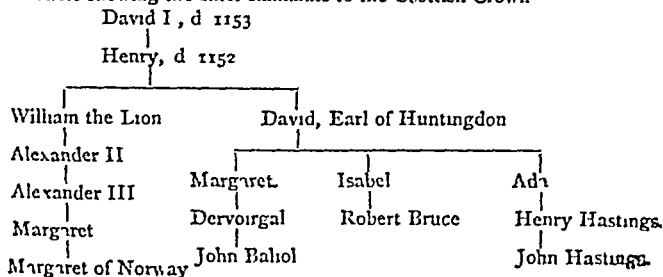
7 Many claimants of the Scottish throne now came forward, and it would seem that Edward was asked to judge which had the best right. In 1291 he went to Norham, met the Scottish nobles and commonalty on the Border, and demanded, as the first thing, that he should be recognized by all to be the feudal lord of Scotland. After some delay the nobles yielded to this demand, the Commonalty seem to have made some objection, but no notice was taken of it. At last the supremacy of the English crown over the Scottish was placed beyond a doubt. Edward then took

The Scottish
succession,
1291-92

in hand the great cause, and he certainly spared no pains to make his judgment a fair and lawful one. He passed a whole year in gathering light on the subject from every quarter and in every way he could think of. There were thirteen claimants in all, but of these only three had anything like a reasonable case. These were John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings, who were respectively the grandson, son, and grandson of the first, second, and third daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, younger brother of William the Lion, whose last descendant had just perished in the girl, Margaret of Norway¹. According to later notions, the right clearly belonged to John Baliol, but there was still some doubt whether the rule of succession to the Scottish throne was the same as that to feudal lands. It was even thought possible that the kingdom of Scotland was a possession that ought to be shared equally among the three claimants, and this was the case made by Hastings. But in 1292 King Edward, after having patiently heard and carefully weighed the arguments of all, gave judgment in favour of John Baliol. Thereupon Baliol did homage to his sovereign at Berwick, and then following Edward into England, again did homage and swore fealty to him at Newcastle.

8 But this was only the beginning of troubles. Though

¹ Table showing the chief claimants to the Scottish Crown



Edward had in the plainest words renounced all claim to the most valuable rights of a feudal sovereign, he was still willing to listen to appeals from the Scottish courts of justice, and cases of the kind soon came before him. For instance, in 1293, one Macduff, a younger son of the Earl of Fife, having been worsted in a suit that he made for certain lands before the Scottish estates, carried his case before Edward, as lord superior of Scotland. Baliol was summoned to Westminster to answer a charge of having denied justice to one of his subjects. He disobeyed at first, but on a second summons being sent him, he appeared before the English court, and told it that he dared not so far humble himself as to answer in a foreign court without taking the advice of his estates. Judgment was then given against him, but was not put in force for a time.

9 Now the Scots were a high spirited race, and felt keenly the way in which their king was treated. Accordingly, when Edward, in 1295, was forced into a war with France to recover Guienne, which King Philip had got from him by a trick, the Scots gladly seized the opportunity. A secret alliance was made between Scotland and France, in which the two powers engaged to give hearty support to each other against England. Few alliances in history have lasted so long as this. It was renewed from time to time for almost three hundred years, and was only broken up by the Reformation of the sixteenth century. After the treaty was made, the Scots were foolish enough to cross the border and ravage Northumberland. Upon this the war of Scottish Independence began.

Baliol king
of Scotland,
1292-96.

alliance be-
tween Scot-
land and
France,
1295

CHAPTER VII

FIRST AND SECOND CONQUESTS OF SCOTLAND

1 THE War of Scottish Independence lasted for thirty-two years—from 1296 till 1328. Early in 1296 King Edward led a powerful force northwards, entered Scotland and stormed Berwick, putting most of the townspeople to the sword. By nature Edward was a merciful king, and it would not be easy to account for his ruthless spirit on this occasion. Halting for a time to see the effect of the blow on Baliol, but receiving only a formal defiance, he led or sent his men against Dunbar. Whilst besieging this place the English are said to have been attacked by a host of Scots and to have won a great victory. Dunbar was taken.

War of
Scottish In-
dependence,
1296-1328

Battle of
Dunbar,
1296

Edward's next stage was Edinburgh, where the castle gave him some trouble, but yielded after a siege of a week. Still pushing northwards, he never paused until he reached Elgin. Every stronghold fell before him, the garrison even of Stirling had not the heart to defend their charge, but ran away when Edward approached. At Brechin or Montrose King John delivered himself up, and was sent into England. Wherever Edward went he made all the great landowners do him homage, and took care to keep a formal record of each case. Before summer was past, the conquest of Scotland was to all outward appearance complete. Then having made Earl Warenne guardian of Scotland, Cressingham treasurer, and Ormsby justiciar, and having put the places of strength into English hands, he went back to England.

First Con-
quest of
Scotland,
1296

2 Yet next year Scotland was in arms. In the first

months of 1297, William Wallace, the son of a knight who had a small estate called Ellerslie, in Renfrewshire, stung into action by his own or his country's wrongs, got together an armed band and began that career which has given him an undying name in history. After one or two notable deeds of daring, he made a dash on Scone, chased Ormsby from the town, and seized the treasure that lay there. He was then joined by Sir William Douglas, an outlaw like himself, and the movement soon swelled into a national rising. Waulenoe happened to be in England at this time, but by King Edward's orders he went at once with all the force he could muster to crush the rebellion. He had got as far as Stirling Bridge, and his men were slowly marching across, when Wallace, who had posted his followers at Cambuskenneth, made a rush towards the head of the bridge, seized it, and cut to pieces those who had crossed. Cressingham was killed, and the panic-stricken English who were still on the safe side of the stream fled in disorder. The strongholds lost so easily the year before were retaken, and Wallace carried the war into the northern counties of England. Here his men killed, burned, and wasted without mercy. Returning to Scotland he took, or was given, the title of Guardian, and during the winter was all the king the country had. In 1298, however, his career ended. For Edward then came himself with a mighty host, and though baffled for a time by his enemy, who made the country a desert before him, and cautiously avoided a battle, he got him within his grasp at Falkirk. The patriot army fought nobly, but was almost destroyed. Among the few who escaped from the field was Wallace, but we hear no more of him for some years. His work for Scotland was done.

William
Wallace
1297-98

Title of
Cambuskenneth
1297

Battle of
Falkirk
1298

3 Falkirk was a barren victory. Famine drove Edward back to England, and for five years no further serious effort was made to conquer Scotland. There was certainly some fighting in Galloway, where Scotland left almost to itself, 1298 Caerlaverock Castle was besieged and taken 1303 in 1300. It would seem, too, that the English were still masters of the country south of the Forth. But in 1303 Edward again invaded Scotland. His troops had in February met with a slight reverse near Roslin, but he pushed boldly on nevertheless. Marching very swiftly, he passed through Edinburgh, crossed the Forth above Stirling, and found no enemy until he came to Brechin, which made a gallant defence until its commander was killed. Stirling Castle alone held out, but was left untouched as yet. Next year the Scottish nobles made a formal surrender of the country to Edward at Strathorde, and the siege of Stirling was undertaken. Siege of Stirling, 1304 Stirling was no easy place to take, its governor, Oliphant, and the few valiant men who served with him, withstood the whole might of Edward for ninety days. Hunger at last forced them to yield, they were sent to England, Second conquest of Scotland, 1304 and a second time Edward had Scotland in his power.

4 He dealt very gently with it. Taking as his advisers three Scotsmen—one of whom was Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, soon to be famous—he brought together a mixed body of Scots and English, Edward's settlement of Scotland and with their help drew up a plan for ruling his conquest that is marked by kindness as well as wisdom. His hope was that the two peoples would in time become one, and his scheme of government was designed to hasten this happy issue. But for one man there was now no mercy, whatever there might have been a year earlier. In 1304 Wallace had declined to place

himself at the king's will, and when he was taken near Glasgow in 1305, he was sent up to London, and after a kind of trial, was put to death at Tyburn, with all the dreadful tortures that the law of England now made the punishment of treason (August 1305). But as yet Wallace was the only Scotsman who died on the scaffold by Edward's orders. Though many of the nobles and clergy had sworn fealty again and again, and broken their oaths as often, not one paid the penalty of his crime.

Death of
Wallace,
1305

CHAPTER VIII

ROBERT BRUCE

1 AGAIN there was peace in Scotland, but it was short-lived. In 1306 Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant of 1291-92, slipped away from the English court, and having slain the Red Comyn, Baliol's sister's son, at Dumfries, got himself crowned king of Scotland at Scone. Ambition, not patriotism, seems to have been his ruling motive in taking this step, but the heroism he afterwards showed throughout his wonderful career goes far to atone for his crime—if crime there were—at the outset. But at first Bruce's attempt was but a bold stroke for a crown. No general rising took place, as in 1297. For years King Robert was a mere adventurer, with little other support than that of his personal followers and friends. Indeed, until 1310 his enterprise wore a very hopeless look.

Robert
Bruce
strikes for
the Scottish
crown
1306

2 In June, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, grandson of John's queen by her second husband, and now governor of Scotland, suddenly burst upon Bruce at Methven, near Perth, routed his little band, and drove him, a homeless vagabond,

Fight of
Methven,
1306

to seek shelter in the West. On his way thither he was assailed by the highlanders under John of Lorn, and saved himself only by marvellous courage and skill. Then disaster followed disaster, for by this time Edward had again approached the Border, and though the hand of death was slowly closing upon him, still from his couch at Lanercost he eagerly watched and, so far as he could, guided the course of events in Scotland. A great change had come over him. He now breathed nothing but vengeance. Nearly every male prisoner of rank who fell into his hands was sent to the scaffold. Three of Bruce's brothers, and many other of his stoutest partisans thus perished. The Countess of Buchan, who had placed the crown on Bruce's head, was shut up in a cage in Berwick Castle, but his wife and daughter were honourably treated in England.

3 All this time Bruce was roving about in the Western isles, or landing on the mainland only to be beaten and chased back into his hiding-places by an English force. Once he was cheered by a slight success. In May 1307, he withstood and drove back Pembroke at Loudon Hill, in Ayrshire. Yet in a few days he was again a fugitive, but in the following July King Edward died at Burgh-on-Sands, near Carlisle, and Bruce's enterprise became possible. For Edward's son and successor, Edward II, was a man of very different mettle from his father's, and Bruce's chances became more encouraging.

4. Yet for the first three years after his sleepless foe's death he made but slow progress. Though he managed to keep the field, he gained no stronghold. Every fortress in Scotland was still in English hands. But in 1310 Edward II made a grand invasion, which failed because, owing to King Robert's resolute policy, the invaders could neither find an enemy nor live in the country.

Bruce then took courage, attempted town after town to such good purpose that in 1314 he was master of every place of strength in his kingdom save Stirling and Berwick, and in the June of this year his men were pressing Stirling so hard that its governor engaged to deliver it up if by the following St John's Day (June 24) he were not relieved.

5 This roused the spiritless Edward to a great effort, and on the eve of St John's Day a huge host of English, led by their king in person, came in sight of Stirling. Hitherto King Robert had been very careful not to fight, but he made up his mind to risk a battle now rather than lose his chance of getting Stirling, and the great battle of Bannockburn was the result. Bruce chose his ground with sound judgment. The English archers were scattered by a charge of Scottish horse, and the mounted men-at-arms, huddled together in a narrow space, through which alone the Scots could be reached, were easily discomfited by the Scottish spearmen. Edward and his men fled in wild disorder to Berwick, and Stirling surrendered the same evening.

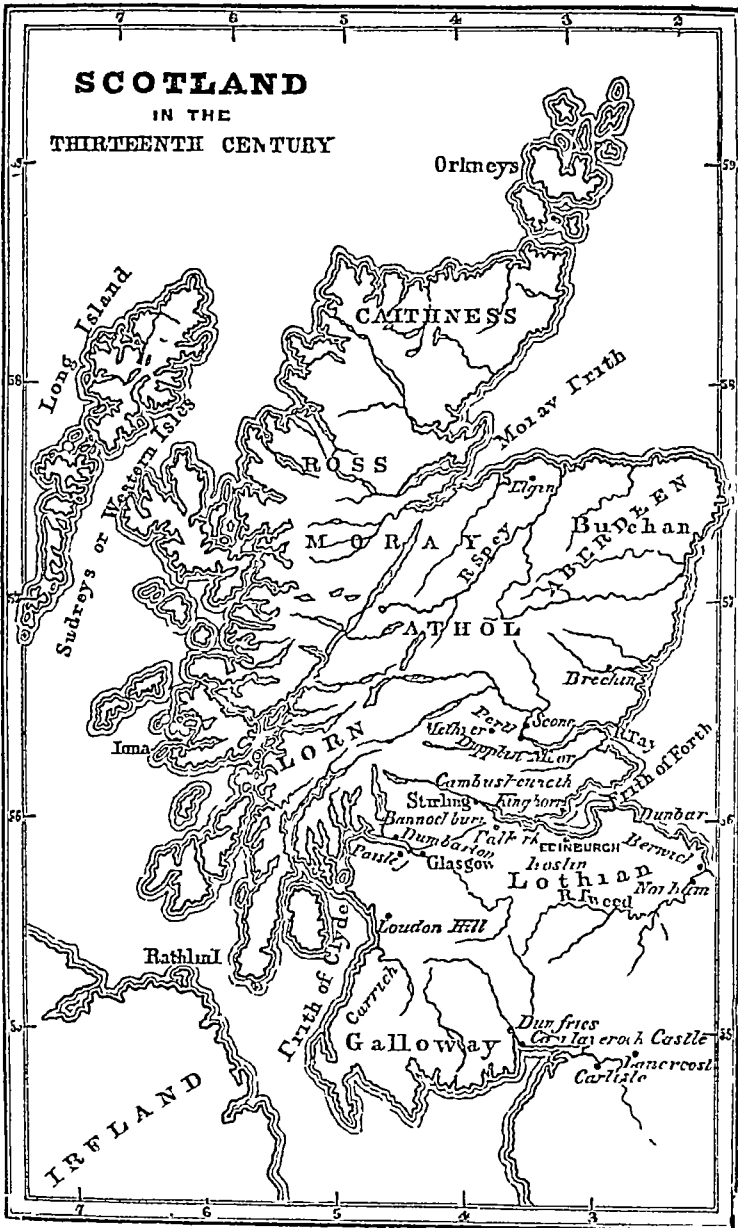
6 Scottish independence was now as good as won. At this time the English power was greatly weakened by the quarrels of Edward II and his barons, and Bruce was able in 1318 to retake Berwick, and in 1322 to lead his victorious Scots almost to the gates of York. He more over forced Edward to make two truces, of which the latter, made in 1323, was for thirteen years, and whilst it refused to give, allowed Robert to take the royal title. In 1327, when the worthless Edward was dethroned, and his young son, Edward III, was made king in his stead, King Robert broke the truce, and sent an army into England, which defied all the efforts of the boy king's counsellors to bring it to a

Battle of
Bannockburn
1314

Truce of
1323

SCOTLAND

IN THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY



battle. This inroad was the last event of the war. In 1328 a peace was made in which England gave up to Robert the kingship and independence of Scotland which he had been so long fighting for. This is known as the Peace of Northampton, being so called from the place where the parliament met which gave it its sanction. In the following year Robert died, leaving the crown to his son David, a lad but five years old.

Peace of
Northamp-
ton, 1328

Bruce dies,
1329

CHAPTER IX

THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE.

1 FOR the greater part of the two centuries and a half after John lost Normandy (1204-1453) the kings of England and of France were at war with each other. This was chiefly owing to the fact that the English king still held a large portion of southern France. The region called by English writers Guienne, which stretched northwards from the Pyrenees almost to the river Charente, still remained in their possession. Once indeed it seemed likely that they would have to part with this country also. In 1224 Lewis VIII, the same Lewis who was driven from England in 1217, after conquering lower Poitou, pushed his arms into Gascony also, but it was recovered shortly afterwards by William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury.

2 Henry III made several attempts to get back the provinces which his father had lost, and it was not until 1259 that the long quarrel was set at rest by a treaty of peace. By this treaty, Lewis IX, of his own free will, gave

The kings
of England
keep
Guienne

back to Henry III several of the conquests he had made Henry agreed to do homage for these Peace of
 and for Gascony, and to give up all claim to 1259
 the others which his father and himself had lost Thus
 the kings of England were dukes of Guienne long after
 they had ceased to be dukes of Normandy and counts
 of Anjou

3 This dignity added little to their real strength The
 French kings, whose vassals they were, regarded them
 with great jealousy, and were ever on the watch for an
 excuse for taking their French lands from them In
 1294 Philip IV, called the Fair, actually did get them,
 but in a shamefully dishonest way He summoned Ed-
 ward I to Paris to answer for the conduct of certain
 Gascons, subjects of his, who had given help to the Eng-
 lish sailors in a strange kind of war that for a time raged
 between the English and the Norman seafaring folk
 Edward did not appear, but sent his brother Edmund,
 Earl of Lancaster, in his place Philip said Edward I
 he was willing to push the matter no farther tricked out
 if Guienne was put into his hands for forty of Guienne,
1294
 days, promising to restore it at the end of that time
 Edmund accepted the offer, and Philip's officers were
 put in possession of the duchy But Philip broke his
 word, and when the forty days had passed, still kept
 Guienne, and Edward was forced to go to war with him
 This war was uneventful, but worthy of notice as having
 been the means of winning from Edward the Confirmation
 of the Charters The upshot of it was that Edward got
 back Guienne in 1303

4 Again, in 1324, Charles the Fair, Philip's son,
 fastened a quarrel of a like nature on Edward II, took
 Guienne into his hands, and only gave it back again when
 young Edward, Earl of Chester, afterwards Edward III,
 was sent over to do homage in his father's place Alto-

gether Guenne was a fruitful source of trouble to its duke in England, but to the English it was in one way an advantage that their kings still kept a footing on French soil. No single cause did so much to strengthen the hands of the newly-created Parliament. So long as he had Guenne to defend, an English king could never be sure of peace, and when war, or threat of war, arose, he had to ask his Parliament for money.

5 But at no time did the Third Estate, as the Commons were called, gain so much power as in the Hundred Years' War. When that war began it was the weakest of the three estates, when the war ended it was the

Cause of the
Hundred
Years War

strongest. And it is very likely that the Hundred Years' War would never have taken place if Guenne had not belonged to the king

of England, for the way in which this war between the kings of France and England broke out was the following.

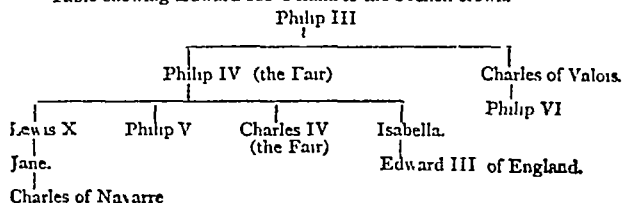
6 Early in 1327 Edward II was deposed because he was unfit to rule, and his elder son, Edward, then only a

Edward
III be-
comes king
1327

lad of fourteen, became king. Until his eighteenth year he was under the guidance of his mother, Isabella of France, and Roger

Mortimer, who had planned and carried out the overthrow of his father. These two had taken on themselves the rule of the nation, paying little respect to the council of bishops, earls, and barons chosen for the purpose. In 1328 the last of Philip the Fair's sons,¹ Charles the Fair,

¹ Table showing Edward III's claim to the French crown.



died, leaving no son to succeed him, and Edward, as the grandson of Philip through Isabella, Philip's daughter, put in a claim for the empty throne. Of this claim no notice seems to have been taken, and Philip of Valois, the son of Philip the Fair's brother, was accepted as king. Next year Edward did homage to Philip of Valois for Guienne, thus seemingly allowing his future rival's title.

7 In 1330 young Edward shook off the control of his mother and Mortimer—sending Mortimer to the scaffold—and made himself king in fact, as he was already king in name. A few years afterwards fighting began between some of his lords in the north and the regency that held sway in Scotland during the minority of David Bruce, and in 1333 Edward was easily drawn into the war. He won the battle of Halidon Hill, retook Berwick, overran Scotland, joined

Battle of
Halidon
Hill, 1333

Lothian to his own kingdom, and set up Edward Baliol, John Baliol's son, as vassal king of Scotland north of the Friths. The Scots fought against his designs with their usual dogged courage, and he had himself to lead armies more than once into their country. But in the main his work prospered, and there is little doubt that if he had not turned aside from his task Scotland would have been conquered at last. But at this point Philip of France stepped in, and, taking the part of David Bruce, so annoyed Edward that he revived his half-forgotten claim to the French throne, and began a war that proved one of the longest and saddest in history. Philip thought he might make such a use of Edward's war in the north as to win Guienne for himself. Accordingly he sheltered Bruce, who had been driven from Scotland, sent men and ships to aid Bruce's party, threatened to invade England, and sent troops against Guienne. Edward had to make his choice—

Philip of
France aids
the foes of
England

either to go to war with France or to lose Guienne. He chose to go to war, and wishing to gain support for his cause, took the title and, a little later, the arms of a French king. His claim, though skilfully put, was an utterly groundless one. It had come to be regarded as a law in France, that not only no woman, but also no man who traced his descent from the blood royal through a woman only, could wear the crown of the country. This was called the Salic law, and by it Edward, whose link of connexion with French royalty was his mother Isabella, had plainly not a shadow of right. But Edward took another view of the Salic law, he said that it kept from the French throne women only, but not their sons if these were otherwise the nearest of blood. In this way he, as grandson of Philip IV (the Fair) would have had a better title than Philip VI (of Valois), who was only a son of Philip the Fair's younger brother. In 1337, however, there was a boy, Charles of Navarre, who, by Edward's own way of putting the law, stood before him in nearness to the throne. But there is reason to think that Edward was only half in earnest in making and pushing on his claim. More than once during the war his conduct would seem to show that he used the title of king of France to enable him to drive a more gainful bargain with the enemy when peace should be made. It was an unlucky step, however, as it greatly embittered the quarrel, and made a lasting peace next to impossible.

CHAPTER X

FIRST STAGE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

1 THE Hundred Years' War may be divided into three parts. The first stretches from 1337 to the Great Peace

of 1360, the second from 1369, when the war broke out again, to the Great Truce of 1396, the third from the breaking of this truce in 1415 to the final loss of Bordeaux by Henry VI in 1453. But in no one of these parts did the fighting go on continuously from year to year. In each of them truces of greater or less length kept the foes apart now and then, and in one (the third) the great prize seemed to have been really won by a treaty made at Troyes between the rival kings, Henry V and Charles VI, in 1420.

2 At first King Edward III tried to assail Philip VI from Flanders. He had made allies there among the wealthy self-governed cities, and had an especially trusty friend in James Van Artevelde — 'the brewer of Ghent,' as his enemies called him — and among the feudal princes and nobles jealous of France. He had won to his cause even the Emperor of the day, Lewis of Bavaria. He spent much treasure, and plunged himself into debt, in making war on this side, but gained nothing — only a little glory. Twice (in 1339 and 1340) he led huge armies southwards, both times met his rival, yet failed to draw him into a battle, and had to fall back baffled. He could not rely on his allies. His only success was the naval victory of Sluys — won in June 1340, over a French fleet that sought to bar his way as he was going to Flanders to start on one of his marches towards France. It was a strange kind of sea-battle. Both sides merely used their ships as platforms to fight from. After a desperate struggle, which lasted till nightfall, the English men-at-arms and archers overpowered the French, who were almost all killed or drowned. The defeat was a crushing one, and is said to have further strengthened the lordship over the narrow seas which England even then claimed and kept until the present century. But when Edward came back to

The
Hundred
Years' War,
1337-1453

Edward
III in
Flanders,
1339-40

Battle of
Sluys, 1340

England in November, he was sunk in debt, and is far from his object as ever.

3. After this the war shifted to Brittany, where a dispute about the succession to the duchy between John de Montfort, the half brother of the late duke, and Charles of Blois, who had married the late duke's niece Jane, gave Edward a chance of winning friends on French soil. Charles was the nephew of King Philip, and his claim was therefore supported by France, whilst de Montfort sought help from Edward, offering to do homage to him as king of France in return. Edward accepted the offer, and sent aid, going himself over to Brittany in 1342 with 12,000 men. The great event of this stage of the war was the heroic defence of Hennebont by Jane of Flanders, wife of de Montfort, who had been taken prisoner. Jane kept the enemy at bay for some months, hoping against hope, and was at last relieved by an English force led by Sir Walter Manny, a knight of Hainault, who became very famous during this part of the war. The Breton quarrel was not finally settled until the next reign. The cause of de Montfort won in the end.

4. In 1346 was fought the great battle of Cressy—wonderful in many ways, but especially so as showing the height that English daring and force in war had already reached. In July King Edward landed in Normandy with 30,000 men, and went along the left bank of the Seine towards Paris. His purpose is not very clear—perhaps he wished to cross the river and join his Flemish allies. But every bridge had been broken down, and he found no means of getting across until he came to Poissy, not far from Paris. After some delay he managed to reach the right bank at Poissy, and at once headed northwards. King Philip, who had been lying with a large army in the neighbourhood of

Campaign
of Cressy
1346

Paris, went in pursuit, and for a time it seemed as if his daring foes could not escape him. At the Somme their position was almost desperate, after much searching and dangerous delay, Edward had found a ford at Blanchetache, but a full tide kept his army motionless on the southern bank for many hours. Had Philip come up then, as he might easily have done, it is thought that the English would have been cut off to a man. But he loitered at Abbeville, the tide fell, the French force that lined the opposite bank was routed, and Edward crossed. But on reaching Cressy (Crécy), in Ponthieu, he halted his army, and waited for the oncoming of the French. On Saturday, August 26, the French army, said to have been 100,000 strong, came in sight, and late in the day the battle began.

5 The English were drawn up in three divisions upon the slope of a hill crowned by a windmill, near which King Edward himself stood. His eldest son, Edward, Prince of Wales, a youth of sixteen, and still renowned as the Black Prince, led the first of these divisions, the Earls of Northampton and Arundel the second, the king himself held the third in reserve. The onset came from the French side, and was made first by the Genoese crossbowmen. But these were met and speedily thrown into confusion by the English archers, who were far superior to them in swiftness and in sureness of aim. The discomfiture of the Genoese made it difficult for the French men-at-arms, who were next in order, to come on, but at last these swept the bewildered crossbowmen from their path, and with the Count of Alençon, King Philip's brother, at their head, fell upon the Prince's division. This was the most awful shock of the fight. At one time young Edward and his men were in great peril, and an earnest prayer for succour was sent to the king. But Edward would

Battle of
Cressy,
August 26
1346

have his child 'win his spurs' unaided, that the honour of the day might be his alone. In the end this onset was beaten back also. Alençon made one more effort to pierce to the English centre, but was killed. His men fled, the French army scattered in all directions, and the French king galloped off the field. When the fog that covered the ground until late in the following day (Sunday) cleared away, the most sickening scene of carnage was disclosed. On the French side alone more than 30,000 had fallen, the loss of the English is unknown.

6 But Edward, instead of leading the victors to Paris, which it is thought he might easily have done, marched on and laid siege to Calais. This town he was bent on having, and after a close blockade, lasting for eleven months, he took it in August 1347. He drove out all the inhabitants who would not swear allegiance to him, planted English in their place, gave to these valuable privileges, and girt the city round with such strong defences as to show that he wanted to make and keep it purely English. In time it came to be looked on as a part of the kingdom of England. Henry VIII even granted it the right to send members to parliament.

7 Seven weeks after the fight of Cressy, and while Edward was lying before Calais, a great success fell to the English on their own soil. In the autumn, David Bruce, who had now come back to Scotland, fell upon the North of England with a large force. He was working great mischief to the country, when Henry Percy and Ralph Neville encountered him at a place near Durham, known as Neville's Cross. The Scots were thoroughly beaten, and King David was himself taken prisoner. He was a captive in England for eleven years, but was, in 1357, ransomed upon a truce. The mutual hatred of the nations made a lasting peace

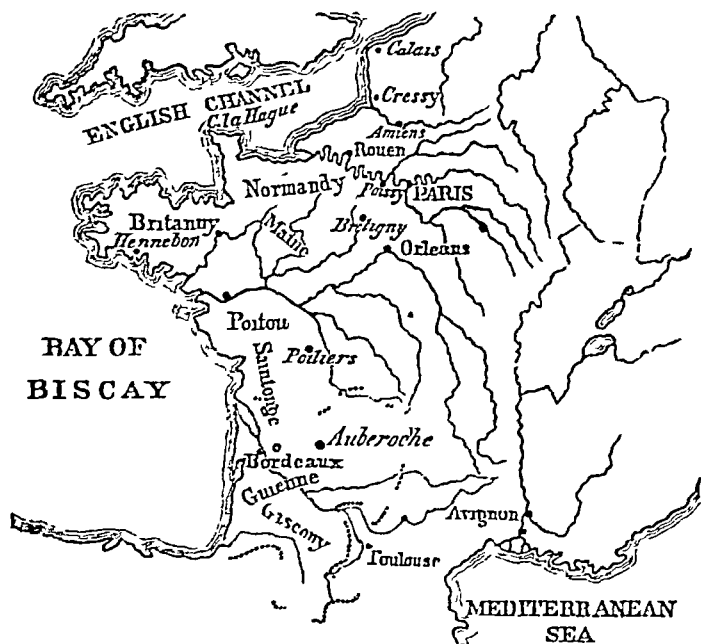
Siege of
Calais
1346-47

Fight of
Neville's
Cross, Octo-
ber 1346

impossible. Indeed, no treaty of peace was made between England and Scotland until Henry VII's reign.

8 For eight years after the taking of Calais the war almost ceased. In 1348-9 a more fatal scourge even than war came upon England—the great Plague, called the Black Death, which in one year carried off little, if anything, less than half the population. While it was fresh in men's minds, they

Respite
from war,
1347-55



FRA CE AFTER THE TREATY OF 1259

(The dotted line encloses the lands held by the King of England)

thought of other things than fighting with France, and the truce already in force was renewed from time to time. But in 1355 the work of destruction began again.

In 1356 another great victory—that of Poitiers—was gained by the English and Gascons. King Philip had died in the meantime, and his son John was now king of France. This year the Black Prince, who was then living at Bordeaux as governor of Gascony, went northwards on a plundering raid. On his way back he came upon the French king and an army of 60,000, who had posted themselves across his path, at Maupertuis, near Poitiers. His force was small—barely 12,000, yet when he found that John would hear of nothing but a full surrender, he drew up his men on a rising ground girt round with vineyards, and offered battle. A narrow lane was the only way by which the enemy could reach them. The hedge on each side of this he lined with archers, and when the mounted men-at-arms of the French tried to force a passage they fell thick and fast before the deadly hail of arrows. When the archers had done their part, Edward issued from his position at the head of his cavalry, and after a stiff bit of fighting, routed and chased the enemy to the gates of Poitiers. Several thousands were slain, the king, his son, and many nobles were made prisoners. Next spring the Black Prince sailed with his royal captives to England.

Three years later peace came. The terms that John first agreed to were rejected by the French States-general as dishonourable, and King Edward, furious at not getting what he thought himself sure of, led a new army in a destroying march through northern France and Burgundy, even threatening Paris. At Bretigny, however, he accepted a treaty that left him master of Poitou, and of all the country that spreads from Poitou to the Pyrenees, as well as of Calais and Ponthieu, in as full sovereignty as that by which he held England. In return he gave up his claim to the crown of France (1360).

Battle of
Poitiers
September
1356

Peace of
Bretigny
May 1360

CHAPTER XI

SECOND STAGE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

1 THE peace that followed the Treaty of Bretigny lasted for but nine years. In 1367 the Black Prince was foolish enough to march an army across the Pyrenees, to put back on the throne of Castile the king who had been driven out, infamous as Pedro the Cruel. Though he added to his glories the victory of Najera, won over Pedro's half-brother and rival, Henry of Trastamare, he was forced by the faithlessness of his ally to return to Bordeaux, broken in health and burdened with debt. In his need he laid a hearth-tax on the Gascons, but some of these would not pay it, and appealed against the tax to the king of France, as if he were still their supreme lord. By this time John was dead, and his son, Charles V, was on the French throne. Despite the Treaty of Bretigny, Charles listened to the complaints of the Gascons, and called upon Prince Edward to appear before him at Paris. Edward sent a haughty answer, and the war broke out again.

Black
Prince
invades Cas-
tile, 1367

Peace of
Bretigny
broken by
France

2 Few events of striking interest mark this stage. The English had not abated one jot of their skill and daring, and in the field were as superior to the foe as ever. But Charles was wiser than his father or grandfather, and, carefully avoiding battles, left the English to waste their strength on profitless marchings hither and thither. The Black Prince, too, was already in the grasp of the disease which killed him in 1376, and after wreaking a bloody vengeance on the men of Limoges who had gone over to the enemy soon after the renewal of the war, withdrew to England in 1371.

War
renewed,
1369

Massacre
of Limoges,
1370

3 His brother, John, Duke of Lancaster to whom

he left his post, was not a great leader in war. The war, therefore, now went altogether in favour of the French, who year after year attacked Guienne and Poitou. Though the English disputed the ground inch by inch, the French had before King Edward's death not only won back Poitou, but also made themselves masters of all Guienne save Bordeaux and Bayonne, and some strong places on the river Dordogne. In

Edward III dies, 1377 1377 Edward III died, and the Black Prince's son, Richard of Bordeaux, came to the throne. Still the war went on, but on no settled plan. There were French descents on the English coast, English expeditions to France, fighting in Brittany, threatened French invasions of England, and a truce now

Truce of 1396 and then. Yet in 1396, when Richard made a truce for 28 years with Charles VI, the English position was little changed from what it had been in 1377.

CHAPTER XII

THIRD STAGE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

I WHEN the war entered upon its third stage, the crown of England had passed to another line of kings. In 1399 the people had risen in arms against Richard II, had taken the crown from him, and given it to his cousin, Henry Bolingbroke, son of John, Duke of Lancaster. Henry IV reigned until his death in 1413, and then his son, Henry V, became king. Henry V was a man of vast ambition and great ability, and in 1415 he sailed from Southampton to Normandy with a large army. Charles VI of France was subject to fits of madness, and his kingdom was rent asunder by the strife of contending factions. Henry wished to take advantage of their disunion to force the

War again renewed, 1415

French, by constant warfare, to admit his title to their crown. Yet he had not the shadow of a claim, not even King Edward's, for being a descendant only of Edward's fourth son, he was not Edward's heir so long as any member of the Mortimer family, descendants of Edward's third son, Lionel, survived¹. Nor had he Edward's excuse for going to war. France was too busy tearing itself to pieces to have time to work mischief to its neighbours.

2 Henry's first attempt, though it ended in failure, was marked by the great victory of Agincourt. On landing in Normandy he spent a long time in taking Harfleur, and then led his force, greatly thinned by disease, towards Calais. He made his way in the face of many difficulties to the Somme, and it was only after a long and tedious march up the left bank of this river that he was able to get across. But on coming near Agincourt (Azincourt) he found in front of him a huge French army, which he must either beat, or give up all hope of ever getting to Calais. Accordingly, on St Crispin's day (October 25) the battle of Agincourt was fought.

Campaign of
Agincourt,
1415.

3 Again the odds were fearfully against the English. They were a mere handful—but 9,000 in all—ragged, half-starved, and wayworn, whilst the enemy are said to have been 60,000. The fight differed, however, in one point from the fights of Cressy and Poitiers—the English gave the onset. But the result was the same. The first line of the French was thrown into disorder by the shower of arrows that the archers poured in upon them, and was then broken in pieces by the men-at-arms, the second was routed after a two hours' contest by the men-at-arms alone, and the third, dispirited by the fate of the other two, gave way at

Battle of
Agincourt,
Oct. 1415.

¹ See Table p 263

the first shock Three dukes, about a thousand of the inferior nobility, and of the common folk a countless number, were slain, and there were two dukes among the prisoners The English loss was small in comparison

4 Two years afterwards (1417) Henry returned with a force of 16,000 men-at-arms and 16,000 archers, and at

once set about conquering Normandy Un-
 Conquest of Normandy, like Edward III, he wrought in deadly
 1417-18 earnest at the task he had put his hand to

He was fully bent on making himself king of France, and threw his whole force into the work Partly for this reason, and partly because the furious strife of French parties left him without an enemy in the field, he went much nearer gaining his object than Edward—indeed in a sense he did gain it In two campaigns he mastered Normandy, with its strongholds, cities, towns, and seaports It cost him an endless line of sieges, of which the siege of Rouen in 1418 was the one that taxed his powers most But he took the place notwithstanding its stubborn resistance

5 Next year (1419) he took Pontoise, and threatened Paris And just as the two French parties seemed about to combine against him, John, Duke of Burgundy, the leader of one, was treacherously murdered by the friends

of the other Upon this, Burgundy's son,
 Treaty of Troyes Philip, joined Henry, and the French authorities
 1420 had to give way A treaty was made at

Troyes by which Henry was to give up calling himself king of France so long as Charles VI lived, but was to rule the country with full royal power under the title of Regent and Heir of France, and was to wed Charles's daughter Catherine Henry survived this seeming fulfil-

ment of all his hopes for only two years He
 Henry V dies, 1422 died on the last day of August 1422 His son
 Henry, a child ten months old, succeeded to his kingdom.

John, Duke of Bedford, his elder living brother, took his place at Paris

6 The war did not end with the Treaty of Troyes Charles, the French king's son, still fought for his rights as heir—and upon his father dying, shortly after Henry, as king A large part of France upheld his cause But Bedford was a wise ruler and skilful general, John Duke of Bedford and the English power went on spreading of Bedford until, by 1428, it had covered almost the whole of the country north of the Loire

7 Next year the tide turned Whilst an English army was besieging Orleans, a young peasant girl, born at Domremy in Champagne, known in history as Jeanne d'Arc, or the Maid, who believed Jeanne d'Arc, 1429-31 that she had heard heavenly voices bidding her go forth and deliver France, made her way with a handful of men into the city, and in a few days forced the English to raise the siege She followed them, stormed Jargeau, and took their leader, the Earl of Suffolk, prisoner She then pushed on along the road to Paris, met Talbot—then thought to be the greatest Battle of Patay, 1429 living soldier—at Patay, and beat and took captive him also There was a general feeling that the Unseen Powers were fighting on the side of the Maid, and the hearts of the English sank within them, while the courage of the French rose When, therefore, Jeanne started on the second part of her divine mission, which was to bring Charles to Rheims to be crowned, she made her way to that place almost with ease, though the country through which she had to pass was in the hands of the enemy This, the purely successful part of the Maid's career, lasted for less than three months (April 29—July 17, 1429) She now wished to go back to her home, but Charles would not let her It would perhaps have been better for all if he had Next year (1430) she was taken

at Compiègne, brought, after a long delay, to Rouen, was there charged with heresy and witchcraft before the Court of the Bishop of Beauvais—who was, however, pushed on to the work by Bedford—found guilty, and burnt (1431) She was treated basely by all Bur-



FRANCE AFTER THE PEACE OF BRETAGNY

(The dotted lines enclose the Dominions of the King of England)

gundy, whose troops made her prisoner, sold her to Bedford, Bedford sent her to the stake, and Charles did not make the slightest effort to save her

8 The English power in France never recovered the shock she gave it Bedford's wisdom and Charles's

sloth prevented the end coming as soon as it might have done, but the end was sure. Even the crowning of the lad Henry, at Paris, in 1431, failed to check the downward course of English affairs, and when, in 1435, Burgundy and Charles made up their quarrel at Arras, and Bedford died, another serious blow was dealt to the English. In 1436 Paris was lost. For a time fate was kept at bay by the valour of Richard, Duke of York, the future claimant of the crown of England, and old John Talbot, the former of whom succeeded Bedford as regent. Indeed, English rule in France died hard, in spite of all the efforts of both Charles and Burgundy, in 1444 the strangers still held Normandy, Maine, and Guienne. But in 1448 Maine was given up in accordance with a pledge that Henry had made when married to Margaret of Anjou three years before. In 1449 Charles led an army into Normandy, and never rested until he had reconquered the whole duchy. This done, he went straight upon Guienne, and ere the summer of 1451 was over Guienne to its last fortress was also his. Next year (1452) old Talbot and his son landed near Bordeaux with 4,000 men. They were asked to come by the inhabitants of Guienne, who disliked their new masters. They gained some successes at first, but in 1453, both father and son were killed, and their army routed, at Castillon. In a few months Bordeaux yielded, and the Hundred Years' War was over. Calais alone remained to the English.

Henry VI
crowned at
Paris, 1431

Normandy
recovered
by France,
1449-50

Battle of
Castillon,
1453.

CHAPTER XIII

PARLIAMENTARY PROGRESS

1 THE great statesmen of the thirteenth century, Earl Simon and Edward I, had done their work well. Parliament quickly struck root in the political soil, and during the fourteenth century and greater part of the fifteenth, Parliament grew steadily in power and importance. From the time when it first came into being until the reign of Edward IV (1295-1461) it met with but one serious check in its progress—the short-lived despotism of Richard II before his fall in 1399. It would not be easy to tell with exactness what rights and what duties it had at first. It was supposed to have a voice in the making of laws, yet the king made laws now and then without asking its assent. The king would seem to have often asked its advice, yet it cannot be proved that he was bound to do so, or to take its advice when given. Though it was now and then called upon to sanction the king's acts, there is little doubt that most of his acts would have held good without its approval.

2 But two things about Parliament stand out in a very marked way, even in the first fifty years of its existence.

Powers of Parliament (1) When it was thought needful to do anything in a specially solemn way, it was done in Parliament, (2) Parliament alone had the lawful power of binding the estates of the kingdom to the payment of a tax.

Let us take some instances of the first of these powers. Edward II was a worthless king and wasted his substance. His nobles thought it right to try and put a stop to this, and in 1311 drew up a number of ordinances for the purpose. Now, not only were these ordinances accepted by Edward in Parliament, but in

Parliament also were they revoked, when in 1322, Edward became a free agent once more. And the treaty with Scotland in 1328 was ratified in Parliament. It may have been only a way of letting the nation know what nearly concerned itself, or the presence of the assembled Estates may have been thought to make things more solemn. Again, the sole power of Parliament to decree taxes was not quite surely fixed. For a time the king was able to partly defeat that power in two ways. First, he claimed the right of still drawing supplies of money now and then—tallages they were called—from the towns in his demesne. Then, too, he sometimes brought together the wealthiest merchants and prevailed upon them to allow him to take tolls—often very heavy ones—from wool and other articles which they sent abroad. Both of these were, however, got rid of in Edward III's reign. In 1340 the king pledged himself in the strongest words henceforth to levy no 'charge or aid' but by the common assent of the estates, 'and that in parliament,' and in 1362 he agreed to a law abolishing the other customs also.

3 On the whole the reign of Edward III was a very healthy time for Parliament. Early in it the division of that body into two houses took place. The knights of the shire united themselves with the citizens and burgesses to form the lower house. The bishops and abbots joined with the lay peers to form the upper house. In Edward III's reign, also, the practice became usual of making grants of money only in return for a promise to redress grievances, and it was at the same time that the uncertain rights of being alone able to grant money to the king and having a voice in public affairs became almost real. During the war with France, King Edward, wishing to get the Commons to approve of what he was doing, asked their advice

Reign of
Edward
III

about the war. At first they answered that they were too simple to deal with such high matters, but they were afterwards bold enough to give an opinion in favour of peace. In this way they came to have a real right to talk about all questions of state and give their views about them. After a time, too, the Commons got an important voice in law-making, laws were now made by the king 'by the assent,' or 'assent and prayer,' of the great men and Commons of his kingdom.

4. One other great privilege the lower house gained in this reign—that of *impeaching*—that is, of bringing to trial before the upper house the servants of the crown who seemed to them to have done wrong. The assembly that first used this power is known as the 'good parliament,' which sat in 1376. There was for the last few years of Edward III's life a very angry feeling throughout the country. The king, grown old in mind before his time, had fallen into evil hands. There were people about him who were making themselves rich out of the national purse. The Black Prince was dying, and his brother, John of Gaunt, was suspected of plotting against the rights of his son, Richard of Bordeaux. A bad woman, Alice Perrers, ruled in the king's palace. Many men in power stopped at no wickedness in trying to gain their evil ends. So from all these things grave mischief was being wrought to the nation. Under the guidance of one Peter de la Mare—the first who held the office of Speaker, though he was not called by that name—the Commons at once picked out for punishment the worst of the transgressors, Lord Latimer, the chamberlain, and a certain Richard Lyons. These they charged with having bought up the king's debts at a low price, and then got payment in full from the royal revenue, with taking bribes from the king's enemies, and with seizing for their own use sums that

The 'good
parliament,
1376

ought by right to have been paid into the king's treasury. The rage against them was so great that their patron, John of Gaunt, was powerless to check it. They were thrown into prison, and when the crimes laid to their charge had been proved, the Lords sentenced Latimer to be imprisoned and fined as the king should think fit, and to lose his office, and Lyons to be stripped of his wealth and sent to the Tower. Alice Perrers, too, was to forfeit her property and be banished. There can hardly be a doubt that the Black Prince and William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, who had once been chancellor, heartily forwarded these doings of the Commons. Indeed it is very likely that they planned and set them in motion. In any case, the Commons had clearly a very strong affection for the Prince's family, for on his dying (Trinity Sunday, 1376) when Parliament was still sitting, they prayed that his son, Richard, should be brought before them as heir-apparent, which prayer the king granted. Finally, as a means of guarding the nation from such men as Latimer and Lyons for the future, they entreated the king to take into his council a body of lords on whom they believed that they could rely. This prayer also was granted, and after a session of two months—the longest yet known—the 'good parliament' went its ways.

Black
Prince dies,
1376

5 After all, it had done very little good. It had hardly gone when John of Gaunt became all-powerful in the state once more, Alice Perrers returned to Court, and Latimer was restored to favour, John of Gaunt de la Mare was sent to prison, and Wykeham, charged with having, when chancellor, misused the moneys in his hands, lost his income as bishop, and was forbidden to come within twenty miles of the Court. And, worst of all, early next year a new parliament was called which undid all that had been done against Latimer and Lyons and

was quite as willing to serve the ends of John of Gaunt as the 'good parliament' had been to serve the ends of the Black Prince, for it seems to have been then possible for men in power to get members chosen for the lower house who would act as they wished—to pick a parliament, in fact. One lasting benefit, however, followed from the work of the 'good parliament,' the right that it was the first to use, of impeaching the king's ministers was not forgotten in later times, and became a very ready way of frightening men who were willing to help a tyrannical king.

6 A few months later King Edward died (1377), and again all was changed. John of Gaunt lost his power.
 Richard II 1377-99 He was shut out even from the council which the great men appointed to rule during the minority of Richard, who was then but eleven years old. A parliament that was soon afterwards called by the new king was so far from helping Lancaster's plans that the Commons again chose Peter de la Mare for their speaker.
 First parliament of Richard II 1377 Indeed this parliament acted very boldly. The Commons asked that eight members should be added to the council, that the great officers of state should be chosen by Parliament so long as the king was under age, and that the grant of money—a very large one—which they had made to the king should be paid into the hands of two persons who should see that it was rightly used. And all these demands the king agreed to. This body, moreover, is a fair type of all the parliaments of the first twelve years of Richard's reign. These were generally very firm in their dealings with the king, very stiff in upholding their own rights, and often used great plainness of speech in their addresses and petitions. During these twelve years the power of the Commons was ever growing.

CHAPTER XIV

RISING OF THE COMMONS

1 THE latter half of the fourteenth century was a stirring time for the English working classes. Owing to many causes—at some of which we can only guess—an angry and fretful spirit had got the mastery over them. They felt themselves to be deeply wronged by the owners of lands, who were reaping the fruits of their industry, and yet wanted to keep them in bondage or to bring them back to a bondage from which they had almost escaped. A great change which was going on added to the hardships of their lot, and to their wrath in consequence.

Temper of
the lower
classes

2 In earlier days most of the rustic folk, of the men who tilled the soil, belonged to the class called villeins, who were bound to toil with their hands on the farms of their lord, and could not leave his service as they chose, for they were in a certain sense his property quite as much as his horses and dogs. But a villein had his rights, the cottage and patch of ground that his lord allowed him in payment of his labour or for his support, became in course of time his property, which his lord could not touch so long as the services to which the villein was bound were duly rendered. After a time many lords agreed to take money in place of villein services, others set their villeins free. The spirit of the law and the influence of the Church worked together to lessen the evils of villenage and the number of villeins. So it came about that the rustics throughout the country were much better off than before. Most of them were as good as free, many of them were altogether so.

Villein
rights

3 This happy state of things was rudely shaken by the

Great Plague of 1349 In this almost, if not quite, one-half of the labouring population was cut off There were

The Black Death 1349 no longer labourers enough to till the soil Wages rose suddenly to an unheard-of height, and the great lords were at their wits' end to know how

Statute of Labourers 1350 to get their farms cultivated In their distress they got a law passed, called the Statute of Labourers, by which all men trained to labour

were bound under penalties to work for the same wages as had been customary in 1347 This law failed in its object, it was followed by others of a similar kind, which were alike of no effect Many of the great landowners then began to cut up their huge farms, which had been hitherto managed by bailiffs, into smaller ones, and to let these out on short leases Indeed, this is said to be the beginning of the practice of letting now in use Others, however, tried to fall back on the custom of villein service, which had so greatly fallen out of use Many were claimed as villeins who had never had a doubt of their freedom And it is supposed that an attempt was made at the same time by those who had taken to the custom of letting their farms, to return to the older way of farming by bailiffs

4 About this time, also, the movement set on foot by Wiclif began to find its way down into the mass of the

Wiclifitism among the people people. One of his peculiar doctrines—that it was unlawful for the clergy to hold property ✓

—was turned into a belief that all property was unlawful, and many of the lower orders thought that all men should be brought to one common level The spokesman of this doctrine was John Ball, who asked—

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?

5 Yet there might not have been any rising of the kind but for a measure that parliament was forced to by the

straits they were brought into regarding the means of raising money for the king. The last parliament of Edward III had voted a poll-tax of four pence a head, which was to be paid by everyone in the land. Again, in 1379, a similar grant was made, which, however, differed from that of 1377 in the fact that each man was rated according to his rank, a duke paying 6*l* 13*s* 4*d*, an ordinary labourer, four pence. In 1380 Parliament enacted that for every person above the age of 15 there should be paid to the crown a sum not less than twelve pence, and not more than twenty shillings. It was this tax that did the mischief, in the June of the next year the commons of almost every county sprang suddenly to arms.

The poll tax
of 1379 ✓

The poll tax
of 1380 ✓

6 The outbreak must have been planned beforehand, for it took place in counties far apart from each other almost at the same time. Many of the classes which took part in it had little in common. Between the men of Kent, where villenage had never been known, and the men of Essex, who clamoured to be freed from villenage, there could be little sympathy. But it would seem that all who had wrongs to complain of agreed to act together to avenge or to redress them. The men of Kent rose under Wat Tyler, and, moving on London, burnt the Savoy, the palace of John of Gaunt, whom they specially disliked. At the same time the men of Essex and the men of Hertfordshire also made for the capital in separate bodies. In a few days there was hardly a shire that was not in arms. There was great destruction of legal documents, the poor rustics hoping that thus might perish every record of their past or present bondage. King Richard, who was then in the Tower, rode out to Mile End, where the men of Essex were, and heard their demands. These were that bondage and tolls at markets should utterly cease, a fixed

Rising of
the com-
mons, June
1381

rent be paid for land in place of villein services, and a general pardon be granted to those who had taken up arms. All these the king promised to grant, and the men of Essex went home. But while Richard was at Mile End the Kentish men broke into the Tower, seized, dragged out, and murdered Simon of Sudbury, primate and chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and did many other acts of gross outrage. Next day Richard met the whole rout in Smithfield, and was talking with them, when Walworth, the mayor of London, smote down Tyler, who was at once killed. For a moment Richard and those with him were in great danger, but the king, boy as he was, had all the fearlessness of his race. He put himself at the head of the rebels, led them into the open country, and when the Londoners gathered a force and surrounded them, would not allow them to be harmed. He even gave them the charters of freedom they had asked for. Then the men of Kent also went home. In many other places throughout England deeds of outrage and bloodshed were done, but either the doers were put down with the strong hand, or they made haste to get home on hearing what had happened in London. Then an awful vengeance was taken on the hapless rustics. The law went to work, and cut down its victims by hundreds and thousands. Even the charters of freedom which had been given them were taken away again. Indeed, the king had gone beyond his powers in granting them. Still, the lesson was not lost on the landholders. When their fright had passed away they gave over insisting on villein service, and let the movement towards freedom take its course.

Demands
of the
commons

CHAPTER XV.

WICLIF

1. AT this time the minds of many people were in a restless state on religious matters also Both the authority of the pope and the influence of the clergy had been for some time on the wane in England Decay of Church authority The pope had made himself unpopular by the claim he made to raise whomsoever of his Italian servants he pleased to preferments in the English Church, and many laws had been passed, called statutes of Provisors or of Præmunire, to put an end to the evil Moreover, in 1307 the seat of the papacy was shifted from Rome to Avignon, a place on the French border So for seventy years every pope was a Frenchman, and was believed to be working in the interests of France During the greater part of this time France and England were the bitterest of enemies England was not likely to stand in much awe of a French pope Accordingly in 1366 she told him that she would never again pay the tribute of 1,000 marks that John had promised for himself and his heirs, which had already not been paid for thirty-three years And even the English clergy had sunk in the respect of the people since Becket's time Such a crime, for instance, as the murder of Simon of Sudbury, would in the twelfth century have provoked a cry of horror from all parts, in the fourteenth century the actual murderers were beheaded, and that was all For this decay of respect for them the clergy were themselves much to blame The higher members of them did not as a rule do their duties as they ought The great Churchmen loved to add benefice to benefice, sought preferment in the state, and largely forgot their spiritual in their worldly duties Worldliness of the clergy

Many persons took orders only that they might get what is known as the 'benefit of clergy,' and so not get such heavy punishments for their misdoings. Even the friars, whose appearance in England a century before had brought about a great religious revival, had become as selfish and as worldly as the others. One little fact would seem to show that the luty were beginning to be

as learned as the clergy. In the reign of Edward III the office of chancellor was held for the first time by a layman, one Sir Robert Bouchier, who was raised to the post in 1340.

And we meet with many other lay chancellors after Sir Robert

2 A movement which had as its aim the reform of the Church on these and other points was begun about 1363

In this John Wiclif led the way. Wiclif was a Yorkshireman who had first gained wide fame for his learning. As a teacher at Oxford,

where he passed the most active part of his life, he had the means of spreading his views. About 1363 he came forward as an assulant of the wealth and worldly greatness of the clergy. To the begging friars he had a special dislike. He charged them with cunning, greed, and worldliness. After a time he became largely mixed up with the political strife of the day, being an ally of John of Gaunt, who had no real care for reforming the Church, as Wiclif had, but who thought Wiclif would be useful in helping on his own ends. As yet the Reformer had not made known—perhaps had not formed—those opinions on many of the doctrines of the Church for which he was afterwards called a heretic. He was severe upon the general conduct of the clergy, declared that the property in their hands was held by them only in trust for the poor, and that if they betrayed their trust, the State might take it from them, and he wished

spiritual men to keep themselves to their spiritual duties. He also became known as an earnest foe of the power of the pope in England, and was on that account sent in 1374 to Bruges to try and arrange some settlement of the papal claims with the pope's envoys there.

3 The higher clergy soon came to look on Wiclif as a dangerous man, and more than once sought to crush him. In 1377 Courtenay, the high-born bishop of London, summoned him before an assembly of bishops at St Paul's, but John of Gaunt and Lord Percy went with him to his trial. High words

Wiclif at
St Paul's
1377

passed between Percy and Courtenay, and the meeting broke up in confusion. A second attempt was made against him next year at Lambeth, but it also failed, because the Princess of Wales, King Richard's mother, took Wiclif's part, and the Londoners broke into the assembly. These things show that Wiclif had a powerful party at his back. But when, a few years later, he began to utter strange words about one or two of the cherished doctrines of the Church, John of Gaunt and his party shook him off, and when Courtenay renewed the attack upon him in 1382, the Reformer was advised by his once steadfast friend to yield. He did not do so without a struggle, indeed we cannot be quite sure that he did so at all. Many of his opinions were condemned by

a Church synod which Courtenay, now primate, called at the Blackfriars, and a crusade was begun by the same prelate against Wiclif's friends at Oxford. There was a stiff contest at the latter place, where Wiclif was very powerful, but the Primate won in the end. Wiclif explained—some say, recanted—the utterances that had given offence, and withdrew to his parish of Lutterworth, where no further notice was taken of him. He died shortly afterwards (December 31, 1384). He left behind him one great work, the whole Bible

Synod at
Blackfriars,
1382

done into English from the Latin text called the Vulgate, which was the only one then in use. It was done partly by himself and partly by men of learning among his followers.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LOLLARDS

I BUT WICLIFF'S death did not abate the activity of his party. Under the name of Lollards, they began to make themselves very busy in the affairs both of Church and State, doing their best to spread among the people new notions—some of them very wild, such as would be likely to unsettle the minds of simple men. Their favourite belief was, that without personal grace no man, king or priest, could have any lawful authority over others. They also declared that such trades as minister to pride and self-indulgence were sinful. They, moreover, were bitter against many of the doctrines and practices of the Church, such as transubstantiation, image-worship, and pilgrimages. Their enemies charged them with being sowers of sedition, and certainly they seem to have helped to keep alive the general feeling of restlessness throughout the country. One fact about the Lollards is worthy of notice. Though they were found chiefly among the common people, they had many friends among the higher classes, and even at Richard's court. Indeed, Richard's first wife, Anne of Bohemia, is said to have favoured them. And it is strange that those courtiers whose names appear among the Lollard partisans were the earnest upholders of royal power against those that wanted to keep it within bounds, while the higher clergy generally sided with those who withstood the king. In 1398, when Richard struck a great blow for absolute

power, the primate Arundel was driven into exile, two years later John Montague, earl of Salisbury, a violent Lollard, was beheaded for having risen in arms to restore Richard to the throne

2 Yet, though Lollardism was stronger among King Richard's friends and the lowest class than in the House of Commons, the House of Commons did not forget its quarrel with the pope, who still went on defying the statutes of Provisors and of Præmunire, appointing his servants to preferments in England just as he thought fit After making, in 1390, a useless effort to check him, by passing again the earlier laws on the subject with more severe penalties, in 1393 Parliament at

last enacted *the famous law of Præmunire* Statute of
Præmunire,
1393
By this law anyone directly or indirectly concerned in bringing into the kingdom decrees of the pope, or *Bulls*, as they were called, or who made himself an agent in any way of the power claimed by the pope in England, was to be put out of the king's protection and forfeit his lands and goods This was the last important measure of the kind

3 But if Parliament could set a bound to papal power, it could also be stern—indeed cruel—in its dealings with the Lollards Whether it was, as some think, that Richard largely owed his fall, and Henry IV his crown, to the alarm of the clergy at the spread of Lollardism, Henry, soon after his election to the throne, allowed a law of frightful severity to be passed Law against
heresy
1401
for suppressing heresy This law, passed in 1401, gave the bishops power to arrest and try persons suspected of heresy, and if they found them guilty, to hand them over to the sheriff, mayor, or bailiff, who was bound to have them burned before the people A heretic, however, might *once* save himself by recanting, but there was no mercy for those who fell back into heresy again.

The first to suffer under this law was one William Sawtree, a priest. It was not finally done away with until the first year of Elizabeth's reign.

4. Lollardism lived on for some time longer. In 1413 it boasted that it had 100,000 followers. But in this year it made its last effort to do something great, and failed utterly. Henry V was hardly crowned, when Sir John Oldcastle, the leader of the Lollards at the time, being a man of great earnestness and zeal in the cause, was brought before the Church authorities on a charge of having designs against the peace of both Church and State. He was condemned, but managed to escape from his prison in the Tower. A strange affair followed, the facts of which are not fully known. The king told his Parliament afterwards that the party had planned a general rising against society. If this was ever thought of, Henry crushed it by suddenly seizing the walls of London on the night fixed for the attempt, and then appearing with an armed band in St Giles's fields, where the Lollard muster was to take place. He found about a hundred gathered there, and arrested most of them, many of whom were afterwards hanged. Oldcastle got off safe to Wales, but in 1417 was taken, hanged, and burnt.

CHAPTER XVII

THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER

1 THE Wars of the Roses began in 1455 and ended in 1485, but many of the causes from which they sprang belong to a much earlier time. Side by side with the steady

growth of the power of Parliament, kingship was growing too. The simple notions about a king, which had satisfied Alfred and even William, gave place to much loftier ones, which looked upon the king no longer as merely the first man among the people, but as having something in his character that lifted him far above other folk and gave him a sort of sacredness. This change marked itself in several ways. Richard I began to use the plural 'we' in his charters, John took the title of 'king of England,' instead of the older 'king of the English,' as if he were owner of every acre of soil in the country. Four days after the death of Henry III his son Edward was accepted as full king, though the practice had hitherto been to date the beginning of a new king's reign from the day of his coronation. At last there arose the custom of allowing only a single day to divide a new reign from the one before it. Men had come to believe that the throne of England was the property of a family, and that on a king's death his place must needs pass to his lawful heir. There was henceforth no form of election to the crown in ordinary cases. Some one person was supposed to have what was called a right to the crown, and that person was almost at once hailed as king. If, then, a time should come when the reigning king had not the supposed right, and was of a weaker nature than the man who had, much quarrelling, perhaps even civil war, might be expected.

Growth of
the notion of
kingship

Kingship
looked on
as an
inheritance

2 Now this was exactly the state of things in 1455, but to understand how it all came about, we must go back to a much earlier time. From the reign of John there was a powerful party among the barons who kept watch on the king and would not let him have his own way in all things. After the rise of Parliament these barons usually made the two houses, especially the lower, their place of action. This party is

The
Lancastrian
party

sometimes called the Lancastrian party, because the Lancastrian family now and then gave it a leader

3 The half-royal, and at last altogether royal, House of Lancaster sprang from Edmund, younger son of Henry

III, who had at the same time the earldoms of Lancaster and Leicester To these his son

Thomas added three more—Lincoln, Derby, and Salisbury, and in the reign of his cousin, Edward II, overshadowed the throne itself by the greatness of his

power and influence He led, but with little wisdom or public spirit, the baronial party in their quarrels with Edward II and his favour-

ites, Gaveston and the Despensers, but getting beaten and taken prisoner at Boroughbridge in 1322, he was beheaded He left no children, but his brother Henry

afterwards received the earldom of Leicester Roger Mortimer then became the head of the Lancastrian party, and as such overthrew, in 1327, Edward II, and got

Edward III raised to the throne The fall of Edward II restored Henry to three more of his brother's earldoms, and gave him the first

place both in the council that was entrusted with the rule of England in the minority of the new king, and among the nobility It was, however, in the person of his son, also a Henry, that his house reached its greatest splen-

dour before it became royal For this Henry won high renown in the French wars, gaining, as earl of Derby, the wonderful victory of Auberoche, in 1345, over fearful odds In

1351 he was made first duke of Lancaster He had no

son, but his second daughter, Blanche, married John of Gaunt, and brought her husband, upon her father's and elder sister's death, the headship, honours, and lands of the great

duchy, Duke John left—at least, for a time—the path

The House
of
Lancaster

Thomas
earl of Lan-
caster died
1322

Henry
earl of Lan-
caster died
1345

Henry
earl and
duke of
Lancaster
died 1361

John of
Gaunt
duke of
Lancaster
1340-99

in politics usually taken by his house, between 1374 and 1381 he was the champion of the evil deeds and misrule at court which the 'good parliament' had in vain striven to curb

4 His son, Henry Bolingbroke, did not follow in his father's steps, but returned to the ways of his mother's forefathers. He was, when still very young, found in the front ranks of those who were trying to make head against King Richard II's wilfulness and wastefulness. In 1386, being then called Earl of Derby, he joined with his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, Edward III's youngest son, in driving from power and punishing Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert de Veie, earl of Oxford, and other favourites of the king, and forcing Richard to take as advisers men more agreeable to the Commons. De la Pole was impeached, found guilty of various crimes, and sentenced to lose almost all he had, and to be imprisoned, and Richard had to submit to a council of regency, which ruled in his name. Next year he tried with all his might to throw off the yoke. But his plans failed. His friends were charged with treason. An attempt made by De Veie, now duke of Ireland, to free his master from restraint by force was defeated at Radcot Bridge, and Gloucester, Derby, and the rest made Richard call a parliament. In 1388 this parliament met, and dealt, under Gloucester's guidance, so cruelly with the king's partisans that it got the name of the 'merciless parliament'. Many it put to death, others it banished, all who came within its reach it punished in some way.

Henry Bol-
ingbroke,
1366-1413.

Council of
Regency,
1386-89

Radcot
Bridge,
1387

5 For a year longer Richard was king only in name, the reality of power was in the hands of his uncle. But in 1389 he recovered his power by a bold stroke, and for eight years ruled with mildness and judgment. He

called many parliaments, seemed eager to please them, took no vengeance on the men who had sent his friends to the gallows or the block and made a slave of himself, and gave office to men trusted by the nation. During these years the Commons were as meek and ready to please the king as they had before been stern and desirous to curb him, and the current of affairs went smoothly on.

6 In 1397 Richard entered on a new course. The year before he had gone to France to marry the French king's daughter, Isabella. It is thought that he was so taken with the charms of absolute power as seen at the French court that he resolved to try and set it up in England. In any case most of his former enemies were suddenly seized and thrown into prison by his orders, Gloucester being sent to Calais. Before a parliament called for the purpose the earls of Arundel and Warwick were charged with treason, the former was beheaded, and the latter doomed to imprisonment for life. Gloucester died, perhaps by violence, at Calais, and the primate Arundel, brother of the earl, was impeached and banished. To crown all, next year the same parliament had the liberties of the nation at the king's feet. It voted him a tax on wool, woolfells, and leather for life, and handed over its powers to a body of twelve peers and six commoners, all friends of the king. Richard was now master of England.

7 Henry, earl of Derby, had taken the king's side in this affair, and was created duke of Hereford for his services. Soon after, having accused Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, of speaking treasonable words against the king, he was challenged by Mowbray to mortal combat. But just as the two were about to close, they were called before the king, who was present, and banished the kingdom—Mowbray for life, Henry for ten years. This was in 1398, and in 1399

Richard II
as a constitutional
king
1389-97

Richard II
as a despot,
1397-99

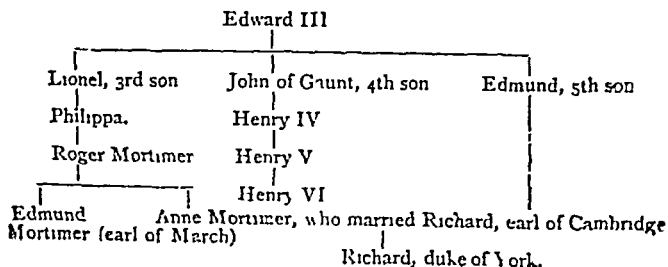
Banishment
of Henry
Bolingbroke,
1398

John of Gaunt died Richard at once took the Lancaster estates to himself, though he had given a solemn promise to his cousin to leave them untouched. He then went to Ireland. During his absence Henry Bolingbroke landed with a few followers at Ravenspurgh, and being joined by the Percies and the Nevilles, easily overthrew the men to whom Richard had entrusted his kingdom. The king, coming back from Ireland, was made captive in North Wales, and after being forced to issue from Chester writs for a new parliament, was carried to London. Richard then resigned the crown. Next day (September 30, 1399) the parliament met, and, after listening to thirty-three charges against Richard, declared him deposed. Thereupon Henry of Lancaster claimed the now vacant throne in a set speech 'as being descended in the right line of descent from Henry III'—words that seemingly accepted as true a foolish tale that Edmund of Lancaster had really been the elder son of Henry III, but had been set aside because he was humpbacked—a notion that his surname, Crouchback, put into men's heads. His claim was admitted, and he became king. But at that time whatever right descent could give to the vacant throne clearly belonged to the young earl of March, great-grandson of Lionel, duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III.¹

Henry comes back, 1399

Dethronement of Richard, and election of Henry, Sept 30 1399

¹ Table showing descendants of Edward III



8 Henry IV reigned for fourteen years, and had many troubles therein. The friends of Richard rose in arms. The Percies again and again rebelled, and Wales, under Owen Glendower, defied Henry's power for several years. But Richard's friends were destroyed. Richard himself died in unknown death in prison. Harry Hotspur, one leader of the Percies, was beaten and killed at Shrewsbury in 1403. Hotspur's father, the earl of Northumberland, met the same fate at Bramham Moor in 1408, and Owen Glendower was overcome at last by Henry's valiant son, Henry of Monmouth.

9 In 1413 Henry of Monmouth himself became king as Henry V. His reign is almost entirely taken up with the events of the great French war into which he threw himself with his whole force. Yet even he was once called on to deal with a plot against his crown and life. In 1415, while he was at Southampton making ready to start for France, he learned that his cousin Richard, earl of Cambridge, grandson of Edward III, through that king's fifth son, Edmund, duke of York, was conspiring with other men of rank to make the Earl of March king. Richard and the other conspirators were tried, found guilty, and put to death, but the affair showed that there were still sleeping forces in England that might some time be roused by events into fearful activity.

CHAPTER XVIII

HENRY VI

1 HENRY of Windsor succeeded his father in 1422. His reign of thirty-nine years was little more than a minority from beginning to end, at first his youth, afterwards his gentleness of character or weakness of intellect, made

him unfit for his post The State thus became a battlefield for rival nobles, each of whom strove for the mastery, merely from love of power or a desire to see his enemies humbled England, in fact, was clearly on her way to some great struggle such as the Wars of the Roses—a grand fight, not for principles but for men, in which the whole question would be who should rule England, not how England should be ruled

Henry VI
king
1422-61

2 Henry's reign was a time when great families had more of their way in English state affairs than they had ever had before The king was helpless in the hands of his uncle, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the Beauforts, the De la Poles, the Staffords, the Nevilles, and the family of Richard, duke of York Duke Humphrey was the youngest son of Henry IV, and as the nearest of kin in England to the young king while his brother Bedford was absent in France, as he generally was, he thought the first place in the government to be naturally his due Parliament, too, had made him 'Protector of the Realm and Church of England'—a title which he took very unwillingly, for he longed to be regent—and gave him a council of nineteen to control his actions But in using even this scanty measure of power he found himself thwarted by Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, then chancellor and afterwards cardinal Beaufort was the ablest of John of Gaunt's three sons by Catherine Swinford, all of whom were born before wedlock, but were made legitimate by royal patent and an Act of Parliament in Richard II's reign¹ His eldest brother, John, was created earl of Somerset, his youngest, Thomas, duke of Exeter Henry Beaufort had thus a powerful connexion Gloucester and he were the

The great
families

Humphrey
duke of
Gloucester
died, 1447

Cardinal
Beaufort,
died, 1447

The House
of Beaufort

bitterest foes They fought in season and out of season, with their tongues at the council board and elsewhere, while their followers attacked one another with stouter weapons in the streets of London, on London Bridge, and at the gates of the Tower Bedford worked hard to make them friends, and in 1425 brought them together

^{'Parliament of bats 1425.'} in a parliament held at Leicester, where they went through the forms of a reconciliation

The name by which this parliament is known in history—'parliament of bats'—is a proof of the character of the time and of the spirit in which Gloucester and his uncle were made to seek each other's friendship, for the servants of Members having been forbidden to carry arms to this meeting, brought with them clubs instead Afterwards, when clubs also were denied them, they hid stones and bits of lead in their sleeves After this Beaufort left England for a short time, but on his return the war was carried on again as bitterly as ever Gloucester worked hard to ruin his rival, but in spite of great advantages failed in the end

3 When men are in such a temper they readily find subjects to quarrel about Beaufort was in favour of peace with France while England had still conquests to keep Gloucester wished to carry on the war until the whole of France should be conquered This, indeed, became the chief point of dispute between them, and Beaufort generally got the better of his rival in every part of it In 1440 he was able to carry the council with him when he supported the prayer of the Duke of Orleans—a prisoner in England ever since the battle of Agincourt—that he might be allowed to ransom himself In 1444 he was in favour of making a truce with France, and in 1445, of King Henry's wedding Margaret of Anjou even at the cost of giving up Anjou to her father René, and he prevailed in all

4 Two years later (1447) both Gloucester and Beaufort passed away within two months of each other, and left their places to others. The nobility now split into two factions—that of Queen Margaret, of which De la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, were the leading men, and that of Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, whose first friends were Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, and his son, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick. These three Richards were bound together by the very strongest family ties, for Cicely, the sister of the elder and aunt of the younger of the Nevilles, was the wife of Plantagenet.

William de
la Pole
duke of
Suffolk,
died, 1450

5 The appearance of this prince marks the near approach of the Wars of the Roses. He was the son of the earl of Cambridge who died by the axe in 1415, and, more important still, of Anne Mortimer, sister of the youth who in 1399 stood next to the throne after Richard II.

Richard
Plantagenet
duke of
York, died,
1460

As this youth and his only brother were now dead without issue, Richard of York inherited whatever right to the crown the being first in lineal descent from Edward III could give, for his ancestor, Lionel, was Edward III's *third* son, while Henry VI's ancestor, John of Gaunt, was Edward III's *fourth* son. Yet if the usage of earlier times were to settle the question, the lawful right was clearly on Henry's side. His grandfather had been chosen king by parliament, and more than one Act had settled the crown in his family, which had now been the kingly line for more than half a century. The whole English nobility had sworn fealty to him. But in the middle of the fifteenth century the usage of earlier times could not settle such a question when such a king as Henry VI sat on the throne of Edward I.

6 At first York does not seem to have thought of claim

ing the crown. He merely longed for power, looked on York's aims. It was his due, and was in a rage at seeing it in the hands of Suffolk and Somerset. He and his allies, the Nevilles, watched the course of events, eager to get a chance of crushing the men whom they hated. Suffolk and Somerset had become very unpopular—Suffolk because he was the envoy who made the bargain to give up Anjou and Maine, Somerset because he was in command when Normandy was lost. In 1450 an impeachment overthrew Suffolk, who was then lawlessly seized and beheaded at sea when he was on his way to exile on the Continent. York was at this time in Ireland as Lieutenant, and there is no proof that he had any share in bringing about Suffolk's fall and death.

7 It is a sign of the general uneasiness which prevailed, that after this event the commons of Kent rose in arms under one John Cade, and marched upon London. They are said to have been frightened at a report that the court intended to punish severely the men of Kent because the ships that had waylaid Suffolk had sailed from Kent, and the unlucky nobleman's headless body had been thrown ashore on the coast of Kent. Their rising had the usual fate of such enterprises. After some successes, a victory at Sevenoaks, in which Stafford, who commanded against Cade, was killed, a short stay in Southwark, and an occasional visit to London, the rebels were partly beaten, partly persuaded to give up their enterprise. Cade tried to escape, but was overtaken and killed, and a few others were put to death. But there was little blood shed after the affair was over.

8 Somerset now took Suffolk's place, and for three years (1450-53) kept, with the queen's help, the reins of power in his own hands. He had little peace, however, during this time. In 1450 York came back from Ire-

land, entered London at the head of 4,000 men, and making his way into Henry's presence, complained of many wrongs and slights done to him. Henry answered mildly, and promised to call a parliament. He kept his promise.

Edmund
Beaufort,
duke of
Somerset,
died, 1455

The commons ranged themselves on the side of York, and Somerset was sent to prison. It was even moved that York should be declared heir to the crown, as no child had been as yet born to the king. Yet in a short time Somerset was released, and was as high in the king's favour as ever, whilst York withdrew to his castle of Ludlow. In 1452 York was persuaded to visit the king, and then was made prisoner. But Somerset was afraid to go any farther against one so powerful, and having forced him to make a public statement of his loyalty, allowed him to go free.

9 Next year (1453) the queen gave birth to a son, and Plantagenet's hopes of a peaceful succession to the throne came to an end, for between 1447 and 1453, Henry had been the only living descendant of Henry IV, on whose heirs the crown had been settled by act of parliament in 1406. If he were to die without issue, York could not have been kept out of the succession. It is possible that York's dislike of Somerset may have arisen from a suspicion that he, as next in descent from John of Gaunt after the king, had also an eye to the crown. But two months before the birth of his son, the king fell ill, and lost his wits, and Somerset was driven from power. The council sent him to the Tower, and empowered York to open Parliament as the king's lieutenant. Henry's intellect seemed to have utterly gone, and the Lords (as yet the Commons were not allowed to have a voice on such a question as the Regency) made York Protector of the realm. He did not enjoy the office

Prince
Edward of
Lancaster
born 1453

King Henry
loses his
wits, 1453

long In 1455 the king's reason suddenly came back to him York ceased to be Protector, and Margaret and Somerset returned to power York lost even his government of Calais, and his friends were driven from office Such treatment he felt to be unbearable, and accordingly he marched with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick on London, and began the Wars of the Roses

CHAPTER XIX

WARS OF THE ROSES AND HOUSE OF YORK

1 THE Wars of the Roses were so called from the Yorkists having taken a white, the Lancastrians a red rose as their badge. The first battle of the war was fought in 1455, at St Albans, the last in 1485, near Bosworth Between these two events as many as ten other battles took place They were different in many ways from other wars They were wars of noble houses The mass of the people took no great part in them, and thus, though more blood was shed by them on the field and on the scaffold than at any other time in England, the nation did not suffer very much from them No institutions were endangered by them The life of the country went on as usual Every English man dwelt secure under the shelter of the laws But they made great destruction among the noble houses The ranks of these were already thinned by the troubles of the days of Edward II and Richard II In the Wars of the Roses they well-nigh perished altogether, for in these wars little mercy was shown by either party The men of rank who fell into the hands of their foes after a defeat were sent straight to the scaffold In this respect they are a great contrast both to the wars of the thirteenth

and to those of the seventeenth century One unhappy result followed from them,—the king's power became almost the only strong thing in the state Standing no longer in awe of the noble class, who had often curbed his authority, he was able for a time to work his will without any check

2 On reaching St Albans, York found that the king and Somerset were lying with a force inside the town After a short pause he attacked them, and by the help of Warwick, gained a complete victory Somerset and three other lords were killed

Fight of
St Albans,
1455

York went on to London, carrying the king with him, and at once took the management of affairs to himself Later in the year the king fell ill of his former disease, and York became again Protector In a few months Henry again recovered, and York again ceased to be Protector But he still continued to be the foremost man in the State under the king

3 It was a very uneasy time, however The other faction was watching eagerly for a chance against the Yorkists In 1458 the two parties made a great show of being reconciled, but parted only to hate each other more than ever At last the storm burst How it came about cannot be exactly known, but in 1459 the Yorkists and Lancastrians were again in arms against each other After a victory at Bloreheath, Salisbury joined

Fight of
Bloreheath, ✓
1459

his troops to those of York and Warwick, and the combined force awaited the approach of the king's army at Ludford, near Ludlow But frightened at a part of their force going over to Henry, the leaders suddenly fled, and sought shelter —York in Ireland, Salisbury and Warwick at Calais, of which place the latter was governor

Flight of
Yorkist
leaders,
1459

A parliament, held the same year at Coventry, proclaimed them all traitors

4. In the following summer (1460) there was another sudden change. Warwick and Salisbury landed at Sandwich, and marched upon London, gathering troops as they went. Finding the king gone, they followed on his

track, and overtook him at Northampton. Here there was another battle, Henry was beaten and taken prisoner, while the duke of

Buckingham, three other peers, and three hundred knights and gentlemen fell on the Lancastrian side. A meeting of parliament at Westminster followed, at which Richard of

York laid before the lords a formal statement of his claim to the crown. The lords were very unwilling to take up the question, but

on being pressed for an answer they said that York's claim was well founded, but advised that Henry should be allowed to keep the crown during his life. This was

agreed to. Henry was to remain king, and York was to succeed on Henry's death. But Margaret, who had fled to Scotland after the battle of Northampton, crossed the

border and began to make head in the north. York and Salisbury marched to crush her, but venturing into the

field with a very small force, were themselves crushed at Wakefield on December 30, 1460. York was among the slain, Salisbury was beheaded by the victors the next day.

5. The quarrel was now taken up by York's eldest son, Edward, earl of March, who on hearing of his father's death, gathered round him the wild spirits of the Welsh Marches, always loyal to his house, and moved upon

London. When on his way he had to fight at Mortimer's Cross to free his army from the Lancastrian force, led by Jasper Tudor, which

kept following him. He beat Tudor, and pushed on to London. Whilst these things were going on, Margaret and her partisans were also on their way to

Fight of
Northampton
1460

York claims
the crown
1460

Fight of
Wakefield
York slain,
1460

Fights of
Mortimer's
Cross and
St. Albans,
1461

London, and before Edward came up had fought with and overcome Warwick at St Albans, and recovered the king's person. But Edward was able to join his men with what remained of Warwick's army, and even Margaret was not daring enough to attack this new force. She fell back northwards, Edward then entered London in triumph, and was hailed as king (March 1461).

CHAPTER XX

LINE OF YORK

1 EDWARD IV reigned for 22 years (1461-1483), for five months of which he was, however, an exile from his kingdom. The first event of his reign was the bloodiest fight of the war, for the Lancastrian leaders still held the north, and Edward and Warwick hastened against them with an army of 49,000 men. On Palm Sunday the rival forces met at Towton, in southern Yorkshire. The slaughter that ensued surpassed anything of the kind that had ever taken place in England. Forty thousand are said to have fallen on the field. The Yorkists won the day. Henry, Margaret, their son Edward, Somerset, and the other noble friends of the Red Rose made for Scotland, while Edward entered York. Again there was a meeting of parliament, in which Edward's kingship was fully recognized. The three Lancastrian kings were declared usurpers, and the leading Lancastrian nobles were proclaimed traitors.

Edward IV
king, 1461-
1483

Battle of
Towton,
1461

2 For more than nine years (1461-1470) Edward was able to keep the crown he had won without meeting with any serious reverse. He had one sleepless foe—Margaret. She sought allies in Scotland and in France, and

twice led an armed force into northern England. She was beaten in both attempts, and in the second—which was made in 1464—her friends were twice over-
 Margaret's
 invasions of
 England thrown by John Neville, marquis of Mont-
 ague, a brother of Warwick's. In 1465 the hapless Henry, who had lain in hiding for some time, was found in Yorkshire and brought to London.

3 Indeed, Edward's throne would have been quite secure had he not driven Warwick into the ranks of his foes. How the deadly quarrel between the king and his too powerful subject came about cannot be certainly known, but it was, in all likelihood, a result of
 Warwick
 and Edward's
 quarrel Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Sir John Grey, whom he had met by accident, and secretly wedded, in 1464. The lady had many kinsfolk—children, father, brothers, sisters. These gathered round Edward's throne, rose high in royal favour, and seemed to have thrust aside those who had stood by the Yorkist cause in its darkest hour, and won the king his crown. A coldness sprang up between Edward and Warwick. The king was jealous of a subject whose influence was greater than his own, and who was popularly called 'the king-maker'. The subject was in a rage with the king on account of real or fancied wrongs. The cloud that had risen between the cousins grew blacker and blacker. Moreover, Warwick had given offence to Edward on a point on which he felt very strongly. He had, in 1469, married Isabella, the eldest of his daughters (he had no male children), to the king's eldest living brother, George, duke of Clarence, who was as yet the next male heir to the throne. The breach went on widening, until at last we find Warwick and Clarence exiles in France, and making an alliance with Margaret to restore Henry to the throne.

4. Accordingly, Warwick, bringing his son-in-law with

him, in the autumn of 1470, sailed from France and landed at Dartmouth. There was a general rush of fighting men to his standard. With these he went northwards in search of Edward, who had gone thither to put down a rising. Edward finding himself almost without a follower, his men having gone over in great numbers to Warwick, fled to King's Lynn and thence sailed away to Holland. He sought a refuge with Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, who was the husband of his sister Margaret. Thus the Red Rose triumphed once more. Henry was drawn from the Tower and set again on the throne. He did not enjoy it long, for in a few months Edward reappeared, having landed at Ravenspurgh (March 1471), marching southwards, he was joined on the way by the fickle Clarence, and soon found himself in London. Thence issuing, he engaged Warwick at Barnet on Easter Sunday, and overthrew him. Warwick and his brother Montague were killed. Another victory, won three weeks later at Tewkesbury over Margaret, who had landed in England the very day of Warwick's death, left Edward apparently without a single person to fear, for the lad Edward was slain at Tewkesbury. Henry shortly afterwards died the mysterious death usual with dethroned kings in England, and Margaret was a prisoner.

Warwick
restores
Henry VI,
1470

Battles of
Barnet and
Tewkes-
bury, 1471

5 Little notice need be taken of the rest of the events of Edward's reign. In 1475 he invaded France, but only to make the peace of Pecquigny with Lewis XI, in which Lewis agreed to pay him 75,000 crowns at once and 50,000 yearly. It was then that Lewis ransomed Margaret of Anjou, for she was his kinswoman. In 1478 George of Clarence was tried before the Lords, found guilty of treason, and suffered death in the Tower, and between 1480 and 1483

Peace of
Pecquigny,
1475

there was a war with Scotland in which the king's youngest brother, Richard, duke of Gloucester, recovered Edward IV Berwick from the Scots (it had been lost in the, 1483. 1461) for the last time In April 1483, King Edward died

6 He left behind him two sons, Edward and Richard, the one twelve, the other ten years old Richard of Edward V, Gloucester was their only surviving uncle, 1483 and therefore their natural guardian Richard was an able man, but crafty and unprincipled, and there is little doubt that soon after his brother's death he thought of seizing the crown for himself In any case the history of the so-called reign of Edward V—which lasted for only two months and a half—is a mere record of the bold strokes Richard made to clear his path to the throne and his stealthy approaches along it When Edward IV died, Gloucester was in the north, and young Edward at Ludlow, in the keeping of Earl Rivers, his mother's brother, and Sir Richard Grey, her son On hearing of the king's death, both Richard and Edward set out, each with his friends, for London They met on the way, and Richard had Rivers and Grey arrested and sent northwards On reaching London he placed the lad in the Tower, to be kept there until the day fixed for his coronation, and was himself named Protector of the kingdom The queen's kinsmen had been greatly disliked by the old nobility, who looked on them as upstarts, and though Richard's doings with regard to them had no colour of law or justice, no one spoke against them Next, Lord Hastings, a man not likely to be shaken in his loyalty to the children of his late master, King Edward, was one day beheaded within the Tower grounds on Richard's mere order At the same time Morton, bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanley were

Richard,
duke of
Gloucester

Lord Has-
tings mur-
dered



laid hold of and kept in prison. The queen dowager, who had fled for refuge to a holy place, was persuaded to give up her son, York, and he was at once sent to join his brother in the Tower. Rivers, Grey, and their friends were put to death in the north, and armed men from Yorkshire began to muster in London. Then one Dr. Shaw was put up at St. Paul's Cross to tell the people that King Edward had never been really married to Dame Elizabeth Grey, as he had before been contracted to a Lady Eleanor Butler, and that his children were therefore not his lawful heirs. At last the duke of Buckingham, himself a descendant of Edward III. through that duke of Gloucester who died at Calais in 1397, went to the Guildhall and made before the mayor and citizens there assembled a full statement of Richard's title. It met with some show of approval, and next day Richard was asked to take the crown by a body of men acting on behalf of what they called 'the three Estates of the Realm of England,' and after a little display of coyness, he accepted. A parliament had been called for that day, and it is likely that many of those who offered the crown were members of the Lords or Commons. The petition stated that King Edward's children were 'bastards,' Clarence's attainted, and that Richard was therefore the undoubted heir of Richard, duke of York.

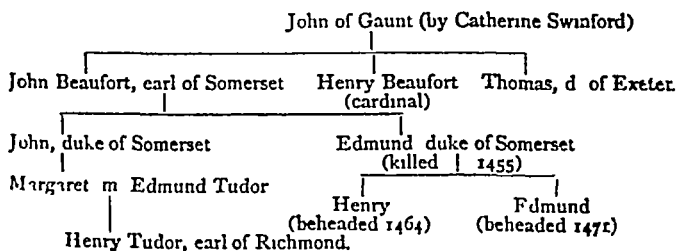
7 Richard III. reigned for little more than two years. One of his first acts was to have his nephews murdered.

Richard III. 1483
1485 The truth of the story, that they were smothered in the Tower by Miles Forest and John Dighton, leaves little to be explained in the

history of the day, its falsehood would leave a good deal. He was next called on to deal with a plot and rising in which his former friend, Buckingham, took an active part. The rising failed, and Buckingham was taken and

beheaded But the plan that Buckingham had tried to carry out lived on, and led before long to Richard's destruction There was then living in exile in Brittany one Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, who, owing to the havoc that war and murder had made of the Lancastrian family, had become its foremost member of English birth He was the son of Margaret Beaufort and Henry Edmund Tudor, and inherited, through his Tudor mother, the headship of the House of Beaufort, sprung from John of Gaunt and Catherine Swinford ¹ Richard's crimes had lost him the love of many of the old friends of his house, and an alliance was now made between these and the remaining friends of the Lancastrian cause It was agreed between them that their long feud should be healed by the marriage of Henry Tudor with Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV, and that at the same time Richard should be assailed by an invasion from abroad and a rising in England The first Battle of attempt came to nothing, but the second Bosworth, August 1485 succeeded In the summer of 1485, Henry landed at Milford Haven in South Wales, and after a somewhat roundabout march, engaged Richard at Bosworth on August 22 Richard fell on the field, and with him the Plantagenet line of kings ended

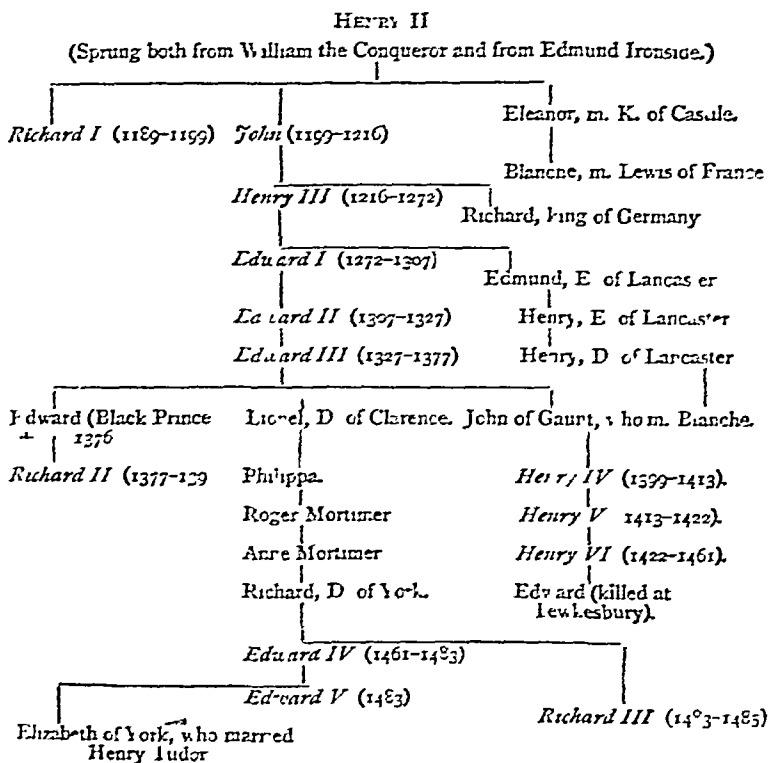
¹ Table showing the royal descent of the Tudors.



8 We have now got to the end of a very stirring time. Many things were done in it which we must disapprove of, but one good thing was gained by the English people during it. This was the winning of the liberties which we now enjoy. It is true that the king was quite as strong at the end of this time as he had been at the beginning. So many noble families were swept away in the Wars of the Roses that the king was no longer afraid of the nobility and was able to do almost anything he liked. But the work done by Simon de Montfort and Edward I, like all true work, did not die. Parliament still lived, and though for a long time it was well content to let the king have his way in most things, yet it still kept all its powers. Without its consent no money could be lawfully taken from the people and no laws could be made.

The wars with France and Scotland had a good deal to do with making Parliament so strong. In themselves these wars were barren of everything but evil, but indirectly they did much good. For from Parliament only could the king get the means of carrying them on. Parliament had therefore to be called very often, and thus the power of the Commons became great. So it came about that the one abiding result of these two hundred and seventy years was that the people had found out the way of governing themselves.

THE PLANTAGENET KINGS OF ENGLAND.

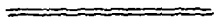




BOOK IV.



THE TUDORS



INTRODUCTION

IN the time which we have now reached many great changes came over England, and it began to make for itself the national character which it still has

We have seen that in the last half of the fifteenth century, (1) England had lost its possessions in France, (2) the English barons had been almost destroyed in the Wars of the Roses. Two things followed from these (1) England tried to be peaceable, and wished to settle her own affairs at home, instead of meddling in the affairs of other nations (2) The power which the barons had had now went to the king, who became very strong

Changes in
England
under the
Tudors

But there were other things also which did much to change England

(1) The writings of the old Greeks and Romans began to be read much more widely, and made men

think more, and think differently from what they had done before. Printing also was found out, and made books plentiful and cheap. Before this time they had all been written, or printed from wooden blocks, and so were few and dear. Thus knowledge was spread among the people more than it had ever been before.

(2) This new learning made people wish to think more for themselves, and they were not so willing to obey the Pope in matters of religion. They came to see, too, that many of the things which he told them to believe were not found in the Bible, which book they had now begun to read for themselves. So some countries, amongst which England was one, left off obeying the Pope in religion.

(3) Columbus discovered the New World, and men began to take more to the sea. The English especially did so, and found out new lands in North America, and tried to make settlements on them. Ever since this time the English have been great seamen, and have made many settlements (or *colonies*) in far-off lands.

All these great changes came about in England under the sovereigns of the house of Tudor, as they were called, because Henry VII's father came of a Welsh family—the Tudors. We have to see how England passed through all these great changes, and how she grew stronger and greater by doing so.

CHAPTER I

HENRY VII—1485-1509

1 THE people of England were very weary of the long fighting of the Wars of the Roses. They were glad when Henry of Richmond promised to marry Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV, and so join together the two houses of York and Lancaster, and bring the sad civil wars to an end. From the first Henry showed that he meant to be king by his own right. He had himself crowned, October 1485, and then called Parliament together. He told them that he 'had come to the throne by the just title of inheritance and by the judgment of God who had given him victory'. He did not marry Elizabeth till he saw that all men took him for their king. He would not owe any of his right to his wife, nor would he look upon her as having a title equal to his own.

2 But the Wars of the Roses had gone on too long to be quieted all at once. The Yorkists were angry that the king did not give his wife more power. In 1486, as Henry was making a progress through the Northern shires, there was a feeble rising of the Yorkists under Lord Lovel. The king's troops came together so soon that the rebels had to flee. But Henry's reign was never free from plots against him, and many of these plots were made with great care and cunning. There was still living, as a prisoner in the Tower, the Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, Edward IV's brother. The Yorkists set up a boy, called Lambert Simnel, the son of

Henry VII
crowned,
October
1485

Rising of
Lord Lovel

Lambert
Simnel

a joiner in Oxford, who pretended that he was the real Earl of Warwick. Many people believed that he was, and he was crowned at Dublin as King Edward VI. The chief family in Ireland, that of the Geraldines, who were Earls of Kildare, had been on the side of the Yorkists. They now welcomed this pretender, who invaded England, but was beaten in battle at Stoke, near Newark (June 1487). Many of the chief nobles who were with him were killed in the battle. He himself was taken prisoner, but was pardoned by the king, who made him a scullion in his kitchen.

3 The king learnt from this that he must be more careful what he did, and must not make the Yorkists angry. He had his queen, Elizabeth, crowned Power of the nobles. (November 1487), and from this time showed her greater honour. He saw also that he could keep his kingdom quiet only by making the power of his nobles less, and by making good laws to keep them in order. There were not many great nobles left in the land, for many had been killed in the bloody battles of the Wars of the Roses. Not more than thirty of the old nobles had been left alive. Henry VII. saw that if he wished to keep his kingdom in peace he must prevent these nobles from making any disturbance.

4. The nobles in former times had kept in their service a great number of armed men, who were bound to obey them, and were ready to fight for them Retainers. whenever they wished. When the nobles went about they had around them these 'retainers,' as they were called, who wore their lord's livery, and were disorderly and breakers of the peace. Out of these retainers the nobles could raise an army to fight against the king whenever they pleased. The nobles also had a custom of binding men to them by what was called

maintenance, that is, a promise to maintain or support }
 their quarrels or their causes in the law-courts

5 Now that the nobles were few in number and could not do much against the king, he determined to put down these evil customs. Laws had been passed against them in former reigns, but had never been carried out. Henry VII made a special court to try and punish all nobles who broke the laws against 'maintenances' and the 'giving of liveries'. This new court was, like the other law courts, a sort of Court of the Star Chamber Committee of the King's Privy Council. Its judges were the chief ministers of the king, who would be likely to carry out the laws and not be afraid of the nobles. It was called the Court of the Star Chamber, because it sat in a room of which the ceiling was ornamented with stars.

This Star Chamber Court was at first useful in making the great nobles obey the laws, but later on it tried all kinds of cases which it was not meant to try, and punished men who by word or by writing offended the king or his ministers. In this way it grew very hateful to the people, for men brought to trial before it were judged guilty not by a jury, but by the judges, who wished only to please the king.

6 Henry VII wished to keep down rebellions, to give his land peace, to make all men keep the laws, and to rule as a strong king. He used to say that a Henry VII's taxation. king who wished to be strong must always have money, and he took care to get together as much money as he could. But some of the people were not willing to pay taxes. Twice there were rebellions when the king tried to gather *subsidies*, which were sums of money granted by Parliament and levied on all men's property.

7 So Henry VII tried to get money in other ways than through Parliament (1) He would make his ministers send for rich men and ask them to give him money, and when they promised, because they did not like to say 'No' to the king, he would send and take it Thus Archbishop Morton used to send for merchants whom he thought to be rich and ask them for money If they lived handsomely he told them that it was plain they were rich enough to afford to help the king If they lived poorly he said they must be saving money very fast, and so could easily spare some This way of catching men, whatever they did, was known as 'Morton's fork' A law was passed that what had once been promised as a gift to the king should be gathered as if it were a tax. These gifts were called *benevolences*, and were hated by the rich (2) Some of the judges sought out many old laws which had been forgotten during the wild times of the civil wars, and had men fined for having broken them Henry VII also sought out all the old rights of the crown, and made men pay him for every little privilege he granted them

8 His strictness in carrying out the law helped him to get money A story is told that one day the king visited the Earl of Oxford, who gathered all his retainers to do him honour Then the king asked if all these were his household servants When the earl answered that they were his retainers who had come to see the king, Henry said 'My lord, I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight, my attorney must speak with you' It is said that the earl had to pay more than 10,000/ for this offence

9 In this way the king became rich and powerful, but he did not win his people's love He made his nobles

obey him and he made all men keep the laws to keep peace abroad, and though he threatened war with France he did so only as a means to get money from his people, and also from the French king. As he got money in other ways he found that he could do without often calling his Parliament together, and during the last thirteen years of his reign (1496-1509) only one Parliament met. He knew that he had many enemies both at home and abroad, and was careful and cautious in all that he did. He watched all the men who he thought were likely to rise against him, and when he got them into his power he punished them.

He tried

Henry VII
and Parli-
ment

10 Still with all his care and wisdom Henry VII was never free from plots and risings against him. Though Lambert Simnel had failed, another impostor soon rose up. A young man, whose real name was Peter Osbeck, though in England he was known as Perkin Warbeck, the son of a citizen of Tournay, in Flanders, landed in Ireland in 1492. He gave out that he was Richard, second son of Edward IV, who was believed to have been murdered in the Tower in 1483. As just at this time Henry VII was threatening to make war on France, the French king was glad to have some one who could be set up against him. Many men in England as well as in Ireland believed in Warbeck, who was helped by the king's enemies abroad. The Scottish king also, James IV, received him at his court, and even gave him in marriage a lady who was nearly related to himself. Plots were made in Warbeck's favour in England. Even Sir William Stanley, who had won for Henry the battle of Bosworth, was put to death on the charge of plotting to help Warbeck.

Perkin War-
beck, 1492-
1497

11 For five years (1492-97) England was kept un-

quiet Henry made peace with all his enemies abroad, and put down the risings that were made against him at home. The Scottish king twice led an army into England, but was driven back. At last in 1497 he too made a truce with Henry VII, and a few years later a peace also. Warbeck was driven to make his last attempt. Gathering troops in Ireland, he landed in Cornwall and laid siege to Exeter, but his troops fell off, and he fled away when the royal army drew near (1497). He was taken prisoner, and, after confessing before the people who he really was, was confined in the Tower. There he made another plot among the prisoners. It was found out, and he was put to death in 1499.

There were other plots against Henry VII which we need not speak of, but each plot which the king put down made him stronger to meet the next that came. Some of the nobles took part in these risings, and were put to death. Their money was taken by the king, and the power of the nobles as a class grew less and less. For the last ten years of his reign Henry VII lived in peace.

12 But besides keeping peace at home Henry VII also wished to keep peace abroad. In 1492 he made a treaty with France, and the French king agreed to pay him money. In 1499 he made a treaty with Scotland, and in 1502 gave his daughter Margaret in marriage to King James IV. This was a great matter, for the Scots had been friends to the French and foes to the English since the time of Edward I, and this marriage of Margaret with James IV again brought the English and Scots together, so that by means of it, a hundred years afterwards, the Scottish king, James VI, became king of England as well.

13 Henry VII made a treaty also with Ferdinand, king of Spain, for he wished to be at peace on every side.

Henry VII's
foreign
policy

His eldest son, Prince Arthur, was married (Nov 1501), to Katharine, daughter of Ferdinand, but in April 1502 Prince Arthur died, at the age of 16. Henry VII, however, wished to be friends with Spain, and in those days it was thought that marriages between their families was the best way of keeping kings friends. So it was agreed that Katharine should stay in England, and should be married to Prince Henry, who was afterwards King Henry VIII. The Pope gave leave that Prince Henry should marry his brother's widow, and when he became king he did so. We shall see how great a matter this marriage afterwards became.

14. Moreover, Henry VII tried to bring Ireland into greater obedience to England. He sent there as his deputy Sir Edward Poynings, who made a law, in 1495, which is called after his name 'Poynings' law. By this the laws which had been lately passed in England were made to hold in Ireland also, and from that time no Parliament was to sit in Ireland except by the king's permission, nor was it to make laws unless the king and his English council had approved of them. In this way Ireland was brought under the king's power more than it had been before.

15. The people of England had a great respect for Henry VII as a wise king, but they did not love him, for he was cold and distant. Yet they trusted him because he gave them peace and rest after the civil wars, and made men obey the laws as in former times. This was what all men wanted, for they were weary of disorder. Moreover, men knew that Henry VII was wise, and was always busy with plans for the good of the land. He gathered round him all the wisest men to give him counsel. He spent no money foolishly and cared not for grandeur, but he saved all the money he

could, and when he died it is said that he left behind him 1,800,000/

16 In the greater quiet of his reign trade began to flourish again in England, and the king did what he could

English trade, to help it In 1497 a great deed was done John Cabot, a Venetian, who dwelt at Bristol, got leave from the king to go and seek for new lands in the Western Sea He and his son Sebastian are said to have made more than one voyage They are said to have found out Labrador and sailed along the coast of North America to Maryland Through them it came about that Englishmen learned to know North America, and sent out ships thither, and made settlements in later times

As Henry VII grew older he seems to have grown more greedy for money, so that the people murmured greatly against his two judges, Empson and Dudley, who did all that they could to raise money for their master When Henry VII died in 1509 few men were sorry, for though his caution and care had given them peace he made them pay dearly for it

CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII AND WOLSEY

1 WHEN Henry VIII came to the throne all men were glad The young king was just eighteen years old, tall, handsome, of a fair, ruddy complexion, skilful in all games and feats of strength, fond of learning, and kindly and affable to all Men were pleased that the hard rule of Henry VII was at an end, and hoped for more peaceful and more joyous days under

Character of
Henry VIII

his son Henry VIII was at once popular, and though, especially in his later days, he did many evil deeds, his people never quite ceased to love him, and he never lost those gifts which drew men to him and made them willing to serve him. No king was served more faithfully by his ministers, and yet no king was more willing to set his ministers aside or put them to death when they ceased to please him. He was fond of popularity, as all the Tudors were, and when his ministers became unpopular through doing his will he gave them up to the hatred which they had drawn upon themselves. One of the first things he did was to order the wicked men who had helped his father to wring money from the people, Empson and Dudley, to be arrested. They were hated by the people for the way in which they had raised money to please the greedy Henry VII. Henry VIII gained popularity by having them put to death on the charge of having plotted to seize his person and keep him in their power.

2 The young king was eager at once to do something to win a great name in Europe. He lost no time in making sure of the alliance with Spain which his father had made before. So he married Henry VIII's marriage Katharine, the daughter of the Spanish king, though she was his brother Arthur's widow. He wished to be friendly with Spain, for under King Lewis XI France had become one nation and was very powerful in Europe. Spain was a very great nation too, and only by joining with Spain could England hope to do anything against France.

3 Henry VIII wished to show himself a great soldier, and to join in the wars which were then going on in Italy. There France, Spain, the Emperor, the Pope, Henry VIII's wars. and the Italian cities were all fighting to win some part of Italy for themselves. Henry VIII entered

in'o these wais as though they were an amusement. He wished to show off his riches and his skill, and engaged in war as if it were a game. So in 1513 he made an invasion of France through Flanders, and took the city of Tournay. But Henry had no real plan of carrying on a war, and the French raised up the Scots against him.

4. The alliance which Henry VII had made with Scotland was broken by the Scots when Henry VIII went to war with France. In spite of the marriage of James IV of Scotland to Henry VIII's sister the old feelings towards France were stronger than the new friendship with England. In August 1513, while Henry was abroad, a Scottish army, led by the king, crossed the Borders. The Earl of Surrey went to meet it, and found it encamped on the hill of Flodden, by the little river Till, which runs into the Tweed. Surrey crossed the Till north of the Scottish army and joined battle. The English archers drove away the Highlanders who were set against them and fell on the rear of the Scottish army, which was successful against Surrey. The Scots were now attacked both in front and in the rear, and so were defeated with great slaughter. King James IV was among the slain.

Soon after this Henry VIII made peace with France, and in Scotland his sister Margaret was left regent for her young son, James V. She was naturally in favour of England, but soon displeased the Scottish nobles by marrying the Earl of Angus. So for many years Scotland was quiet, and did not trouble England.

5. There had been with Henry, in his campaign in France, a man who soon became more powerful in England. This was Thomas Wolsey, a clergyman, son of a citizen of Norwich. He had been a chaplain of Henry VII, and Henry VIII

now took him as his friend. Wolsey had shown such wisdom in finding food for the troops that Henry learned to trust him more and more, till Wolsey became his only minister. In 1514 he was made Archbishop of York, and soon afterwards Chancellor. In 1515 the Pope made him a Cardinal, and next year made him *Papal Legate* in England, that is, gave him the power of overlooking the English Church as if he stood in the Pope's place in England. Wolsey was then more powerful than any subject had been in England before. As Chancellor he was the chief officer of the State, as Legate he had the fullest power over the Church. The king trusted him in all that he did, and so all that was done in the land was done by him.

6 Wolsey was a very wise man, more wise than good, and he was a learned man as well. He had very great riches, for he drew the money of many bishoprics, and received also presents from the kings of France and Spain, who wished him to help them with his master. He spent his money with great pomp and grandeur. Two of the houses which he built were afterwards made royal palaces—these were, Hampton Court and York House, which was afterwards called Whitehall. He was fond of learned men and liked to gather them round him. He wished to make men more learned in England, for in those days Englishmen were not so learned as were the men of Italy, Germany, Spain, or France. To do this Wolsey founded a school at Ipswich. He also began to build a great college at Oxford, which is now called Christ Church, and is the largest and richest of all the colleges.

7 But it was in his dealings with foreign nations that Wolsey showed his wisdom most. He so treated them that he made them anxious to have England as their friend, and they were willing to

Character
of Wolsey

Wolsey as a
pontician

do many things to win her friendship In 1516 a young king, Francis I, came to the throne of France He wished to make conquests in Italy, but could not do so

Power of France and Spain. unless Henry left France in peace Charles, the young king of Spain, wished to prevent Francis from making his conquests, and tried

to get Henry on his side In 1519 the Emperor Maximilian died, and the princes of Germany had to elect another emperor Both Francis and Charles tried to get themselves elected, and spent much money in bribing the electors, but at last Charles won them over, and is known after this as the Emperor Charles V At one time Henry VIII thought that he might be chosen Emperor, but really he had no chance

After this there was constant fighting between the emperor and the king of France We have seen how strong a power the king of France had become But Charles V seemed likely to become even stronger He had inherited Spain from his mother, and the rich country of the Netherlands from his father, last of all, he had been chosen emperor, and so was ruler of Germany He claimed also lands in France and Italy which Francis I held, and so there was war between them

Wolsey knew how to use this time of war very cleverly, so as to win all that he could for his master Charles V and Francis I both wanted the help of England, and promised great things to get it Wolsey managed to play them off one against the other, and made them both show great respect to England, so that England at this time was thought more of in Europe than she had been since the days of Henry V Englishmen learned to think more of themselves, to look beyond England itself, and to see that they might do great things in the world

8 Henry VIII spent a great deal of money, for he was fond of doing things in a grand way. The place where he met Francis, in 1520, near Guisnes, was called the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold,' for everything was done with great splendour. Field of the Cloth of Gold The two kings lived in palaces built of wood and covered with silk hangings, and the days were spent in feasting and in mimic battles, which were called *tournaments*, between knights on horseback.

9 To get money for the king the people were taxed heavily, and Wolsey used every means to get them to pay. In 1523 he went to the Parliament and asked them to grant a tax of four shillings in the pound on all lands and goods. Wolsey's taxation He hoped that by being there himself they would not dare to refuse. But the House would not answer till they had taken counsel by themselves. Wolsey was obliged to go away, and the House voted less than half what Wolsey had asked. At other times Wolsey raised money by benevolences and by forced loans. He also asked for money, without getting any grant from Parliament, and sent round commissioners to gather it. Men used to pay because they were afraid to refuse. But in 1525 there was almost a rebellion in Suffolk, and the king had to withdraw his demands.

10 Henry VIII wanted money in that year for an attack on France. For a plot was made against Francis I in his own land, and Henry VIII hoped to win back some of the English provinces in France. Henry VIII and France, 1525 during the confusion Francis I was defeated and taken prisoner at Pavia, in Italy (February 1525), by the emperor's generals, and Henry VIII wished the emperor to set up another king in France who should be Henry's vassal. But Charles V did not want to make the king of England too powerful, he kept Francis I in prison and tried to get him to give up parts of

France to himself, and would do nothing for Henry. So Henry and Wolsey began to be friends with Francis I, and no longer trusted in Charles V.

11 Now, Queen Katharine was the aunt of Charles V, and Henry VIII had married her to make sure of the friendship of Spain. But things had changed, and he no longer wished to be friendly to Spain, so that his wife was no longer useful to him in that way. Moreover, though they had been married for eighteen years, they had no son alive, but only a daughter, Mary, who afterwards became queen. This made men doubtful who would be king after Henry, and when they remembered the wars that had been waged before to settle who should be king they were afraid what might happen. Henry was very jealous of anyone who might claim the crown after him. Already, in 1521, one of the chief lords in England, the Duke of Buckingham, had been put to death as a traitor. He was descended from Edward III, and was charged with saying that when Henry died he would seize the crown. He was found guilty by his peers. Indeed, everyone who was charged with treason against Henry VIII throughout his reign was found guilty and condemned. Partly men loved the king, partly they were afraid of him, but chiefly they saw that if he died there would be disquiet, and that no man must be allowed to make plans to get the crown after his death.

12 So Henry VIII was more powerful than any king had ever been in England before him, and thought that he might do what he pleased. He wished to put away his wife, Katharine, for she was older than himself, and he had fallen very much in love with a young lady of the court, Anne Boleyn. Moreover, Katharine had brought him no son

that lived more than a few weeks, and he no longer wanted to keep up his friendship with her nephew, Charles V. Wolsey, whose only wish was to do his master's bidding, undertook to get his marriage with Katharine set aside in such a way as not to break the laws of the Church, which in those days dealt with all questions about marriage.

13 For Henry's marriage with Katharine, who was the widow of his brother Arthur, the Pope's leave, or *dispensation*, as it was called, had been needed.

The laws of the Church forbid a man to marry his brother's widow, but the Pope, if he thought good enough reasons were given, might *dispense* with these laws in some cases. Wolsey now wanted the Pope to say that the dispensation which a previous Pope had given was not lawful. He thought that the Pope owed so much to Henry that he would give way in this matter. Already the Pope's authority had been attacked by Luther in Germany, and Henry VIII had written a book against Luther, in return for which the Pope gave him the title of 'Defender of the Faith,' which the English kings have kept up to this day. Wolsey thought that the Pope would be willing to do what Henry wished, and so the marriage with Katharine might be set aside without giving offence to anyone, or making it needful to change the laws of the Church.

Henry VIII
and the
Pope

14. But things fell out badly for Henry VIII. Charles V's army in Italy took the city of Rome in 1527, and kept the Pope prisoner for some time. When he got free Pope Clement VII was very much afraid of the emperor. Henry VIII was far off, but the emperor's army was in Italy. Parts of Germany were throwing off the Pope's headship, and the emperor was ruler of Germany, and alone could bring these parts back to obey the Pope. Clement VII dared

The Pope
will not help
Henry VIII

not offend Charles V by setting aside his aunt's marriage Yet he tried to please Henry VIII by sending over a legate, Cardinal Campeggio, who, together with Wolsey, was to look into the matter Campeggio tried to get Katharine to withdraw of her own accord and go into a nunnery The king and Wolsey tried in many base ways to deceive and frighten her But she stood firm and asked to have the question tried by the Pope himself The Pope could not with justice refuse this, and Campeggio went back to Rome The English people were not pleased at seeing their king brought before the court of the Legate, still less would they have wished to see their king's cause tried at Rome Henry was very angry at Wolsey for having advised him to do as he had done Wolsey's office of Chancellor was taken from him (1529) The king turned against his favourite the moment his plans failed, and Wolsey's enemies were bent on ruining him

15 He was prosecuted under the Statute of Præmunire on the charge of having acted as Pope's legate in England, Fall of Wolsey 1529 which that statute forbade any Englishman to do He threw himself on the king's mercy, gave up all his riches to the king, and withdrew to his see of York But his enemies did not let him rest there Charges of treason were raised against him, and he was arrested, to be taken to the Tower Grief brought on illness, and he died at Leicester, on his way to London (November 29, 1530) His last words were 'If I had served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs Howbeit this is the just reward that I must receive for my worldly diligence and pains that I have had to do him service' Yet he loved the king to the last, and said of him 'He is a prince of royal spirit and hath a princely heart, and rather than he will miss or want part of his

appetite he will hazard the loss of half of his kingdom I assure you I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber, the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but I could never dissuade him'

Wolsey's words came true Henry VIII was ready to make any change in the kingdom which would help him to do what he wanted—to get rid of his wife and marry Anne Boleyn

CHAPTER III

SEPARATION FROM THE POPE

1 KING HENRY VIII's wish to put away his wife led him to quarrel with the Pope, and so helped to bring about some changes in the English Church, which are generally called the *Reformation*

What the
Reformation
was

Now, different things went to bring about the Reformation, and we must try and keep them separate

(1) All men wished to reform the clergy, especially the monks, who had grown rich and lazy, and were disorderly in many ways

(2) Many men in England disliked the Pope's interference in the land, and were willing to lessen the Pope's power in England

(3) A few men wished to see the beliefs of the Church made simpler, and more like what they thought the Apostles had taught

The Reformation came about in England as the men who wanted each of these things got their own way At first the king and the greater part of the people wanted only the first two of these three things, but at last the third was brought about as well

2 A reform of the clergy was very much needed, and men had long tried for it but in earlier reigns the king had joined with the clergy, and nothing had been done. In Henry VIII's reign the king was strong enough to do as he liked, and did not need the help of the clergy. Moreover, the Wars of the Roses had killed off most of the old families, and so new families, sprung from the middle classes, were rising up. These men were more willing for change than the old nobles had been. They had no kinsfolk among the clergy, as the nobles had, and so did not care so much for the Church. Besides, greater knowledge was coming to all the people, and they were beginning to think more.

✓ In 1476 Caxton had set up the first printing press in England. Each copy of a book had before been written out by hand, now many copies could be printed in a few hours.

3 The 'new learning' made men laugh at the follies of the monks and priests, and many books were written about them, the cleverest by Erasmus, a ✓
 Growth of learning learned man from Holland, who lived much in England, where he became a great friend of Sir Thomas More. Some Englishmen also began to study Greek, and to read the New Testament in the language in which it was written. Chief amongst these was John Colet, Dean of St Paul's, who founded St Paul's School (1519), over the door of which he put an image of the Child Jesus, and beneath was written, 'Hear ye Him'. He wrote a Latin grammar for the use of his school, and at the beginning he bids his scholars learn it well, that they may 'come to be good clerks. And lift up your little white hands for me, which prayeth for you to God.'

4. Men like these wanted to make the monks and clergy better, and wanted also to see the riches of the

Church spent in furthering learning Cardinal Wolsey made some reforms As Papal Legate he put an end to many small monasteries, which were not well conducted or were not in useful places He took their lands and money to found his college at Oxford and his school at Ipswich When

*Reforms of
Cardinal
Wolsey*

Wolsey fell his work in this way did not stop with him, In 1529, when Parliament was called together again, a bill was passed to make the clergy live in their parishes, and not hold more than one living at once, unless the living they held was very poor, and do other things which were right It was clear that the bad customs of the clergy were going to be done away with

5 Besides the wish to reform the clergy, many men wished that the Church in England should be free from the power of the Pope Ever since the reign of John the Popes had been disliked in

*Dislike to
the Pope in
England*

England, and laws had been often passed to prevent them from interfering in English affairs The Popes became Heads of the Church in Europe in old times, because they were wise and good men, and helped the clergy and people against the king in times when he wished to oppress them But the Popes had fallen from their old greatness In the fourteenth century the Popes had been under the power of the French king, and so the people of England distrusted them When they escaped from the French king's power there was a dispute about who should be Pope, and for a time there were two or three Popes at once, quarrelling with each other This confusion was stopped by a council of bishops from all Europe held at Constance, in 1417, when a new Pope was chosen Since that time the Popes had lived like Italian princes, carrying on wars in Italy, or favouring art or learning, as Italian princes did in those days Some of them had been

wicked men, and none of them had done such things as the head of the Church ought to do. So men did not look up to them as they had done of old. They no longer protected the clergy and the people from the king, but they taxed the clergy themselves, and made the people pay them money in many ways. So men in England often spoke against the Popes, and many thought that the English Church would get on better without the Pope's help.

6 When King Henry VIII found that Pope Clement VII would not help him to get rid of his wife he thought he would get what he wanted at home from his own people—most of them would be willing enough to see their Church national and not under the Pope. Henry did not at first want to break with the Pope, for he thought, as was true, that the king's power and the Pope's power helped one another. First he tried to get the Pope to do what he wanted by gathering the opinions of learned men all over Europe, especially at the Universities, about the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow. Though he spent much money in bribing men to say what he wanted, he could not get more than half of the Universities in his favour. The Pope was still under the power of the emperor, and could not give way to Henry's wish.

7 So Henry had a plan to frighten the Pope. Cardinal Wolsey had been accused of breaking the Statute of Præmunire because he became Pope's legate in England. In 1531 all the clergy in England were accused of having shared in Wolsey's crime, because they had dealt with him as Pope's legate. To avoid the loss of all their wealth they met and offered to pay the king, 18,000*l*, which in those days was equal to ten times as much as now. The king

refused to take it unless they called him, in the bill which granted him the money, by the name of 'supreme head of the Church' The clergy rather unwillingly agreed

8 Next year, 1532, Parliament passed more laws to reform the clergy They set bounds to what was called the 'benefit of clergy,' by which many men who were not clergymen were tried for their wrong doings in the church courts, and not in the king's courts They stopped the monasteries from having any more money left to them The clergy also took courage and asked to be freed from paying a tax to the Pope which was called *Annates*, or *first fruits*, and was the first year's income of every ecclesiastical office Parliament forbade the payment of this for the future The clergy also gave up the right, which they had had before, of making laws for themselves, in their own assembly of *Convocation* Henceforth the resolutions of Convocation must have the consent of the king Henry hoped that after showing his power in this way the Pope would give way to him But matters had now gone too far The Pope could not give way without giving up his claim to any real power He forbade Henry's divorce from Katharine, but Henry married Anne Boleyn secretly in January 1533

9 An Act of Parliament was passed stating that the English Church could settle its own matters, and forbidding any appeal from the court of the archbishop to the Pope The king had just chosen a new Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, who had written in favour of his divorce, and had been useful to him in getting the opinions of the Universities Cranmer, as archbishop, called Queen Katharine before his court, and when she would not come he decided in favour of her divorce.

English
Church made
national

Katharine was set aside, and Anne Boleyn was recognised as queen.

The king had now entirely quarrelled with the Pope. In 1534 Parliament did still more to separate the English Church from the Pope and make it a national Church. The Pope was to have nothing to say to any appointments in the English Church, and no more payments were to be made to him. The Pope's power in England was quite at an end.

CHAPTER IV

HENRY VIII AND CROMWELL.

1 THE king's chief adviser after the fall of Wolsey was Thomas Cromwell. He had been engaged in business, in which he had made money, and entered Parliament. Wolsey saw his talents, and took him into his service. When Wolsey fell, Cromwell was recommended by him to the king, and directed all the king's measures in separating from the Pope. Those measures were successful, and Cromwell became as powerful in England as Wolsey had been before. He was a man with a hard head and a hard heart, who set himself to serve the king, and did all he could to make the king all-powerful in the land. He saw that to get rid of the Pope and put the Church under the king would do away with the only thing left in England that could hold out against the king.

2 Not all men in England wished the Church to be separated from the Pope, and there was some discontent at what had been done. But Cromwell had spies all over the land, who told him of those

who murmured They were at once brought to trial, that other men might fear A poor girl in Kent, called the 'Nun of Kent,' was thought to have the gift of prophecy She foretold the king's death and the triumph of the Pope, and many men believed in her She was put to death (1534), and many great men were accused of having taken part in her plot to stir up men against the king Amongst others Bishop Fisher of Rochester was accused of having helped her

3 As there was so much discontent in the land, Henry felt that he must fix who should rule after his death The new queen had borne a daughter, who afterwards reigned as Queen Elizabeth An Act of Succession, 1534 Act of Parliament was passed making the children of Anne Boleyn the lawful heirs of the king, and saying that his marriage with Katharine was unlawful from the beginning When this Act had been passed men were called upon to swear to obey it, so that there need be no fear of disturbance if Henry VIII died All men wished to be sure of peace, and to be free from fear of war after the king's death, so they were willing that the king should do many cruel and harsh acts to those who seemed likely to break the peace Sir Thomas More, who had been made Chancellor after Wolsey fell, and was a great scholar known through all Europe for his learning, would not take the oath, and was sent to prison He did not object to the change in the succession to the throne, but he could not do anything which set aside the Pope's authority

4. Henry and Cromwell were determined to carry out the changes which they had begun Parliament was greatly made up of men who were friends or servants of the king, and did what he wanted Henry VIII's harshness. The king had no pity, but did all he could to force men to obey him If England did not hold to-

gether, and if Englishmen were not willing to go all on the same way, there was danger of foreign invasion as well as of civil war at home. Henry VIII was cruel, and sometimes acted like a tyrant, but he had a clear aim in what he did. England must be kept united, in spite of the changes. Men must be made to think the same thing, for if they did not, it would be dangerous to the peace of the land. Henry did not shrink from going on as boldly as he had begun. It was no small thing to separate from the Pope, but all men in the land must be made to do it.

5 So in 1534 an Act was passed declaring it to be high treason to question the king's supremacy over the Church.

✓ Royal supremacy Any man could be called upon at any time to take an oath that he agreed to it. The monks of the Charterhouse first suffered for their refusal, the prior and six of his monks were executed, then the monastery was broken up, and most of the others died in prison. Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were both beheaded. It was clear that none who refused to obey were to be spared.

6 It was natural that the monks should not agree with the changes that had been made in the Church. As they lived together in their monasteries they were

Dissolution
of the smaller
monasteries

not likely to alter their old opinions quickly. They were also powerful among the people, and were less in the king's power than the ordinary clergy. Cromwell was made the king's minister in Church matters, with the name of *Vicar-General*. He lost no time in sending men to enquire into the state of the monasteries. These men brought back many stories of the disorder and evil lives of the monks, which were laid before Parliament. In 1536 an Act was passed putting an end to all the smaller monasteries which had less than 200*l* a year. All their property went to the

king, and the monks were taken to the larger monasteries, or allowed to dwell where they pleased.

7 Thus the Church in England was being reformed, and its wealth and power were going to the king, so that the king had become more powerful in the land than he had ever been before. Everything that had been done was to the profit of the king's power, and there was nothing to check him. In 1536 Anne Boleyn was accused of having been faithless to the king. She was found guilty and condemned to death. The day after her execution the king married another wife, Jane Seymour. Again the succession to the crown was altered by Act of Parliament. The king was allowed to name his successor in his will. It would seem that there was nothing which Parliament would not allow him to do.

8 But many men were greatly discontented at these changes, especially in the North, where the people held most firmly by the old Church, and were not so much under the king's influence. The party of the Yorkists had hoped to seize the crown after the king's death, and felt that their hopes were gone after the last Act of Parliament, which gave him the power to name his own successor. Many of the old nobles were angry at the power of Cromwell, who was not a man of noble birth. The people in many places grieved at the fall of the monasteries, from which they got many acts of kindness. There was also great distress among the people. Since the fall of the old nobility in the Wars of the Roses land had been changing hands. Men of the middle classes, who had made money in trade, bought land, and wished to make money out of it. They were harder landlords than the old nobles or the monks had been. Much land that had been used for growing corn was now used for feeding sheep, and fewer labourers were

wanted to take care of sheep than had been wanted for tilling the land. This threw many out of work and made wages lower, and as less corn was grown, bread became dearer. Though the king was not to blame for this, yet the people threw all the blame on his government.

9 So in 1536 there were risings against the king—first in Lincolnshire, under the Abbot of Barlings. At the sight of the king's troops, under the Duke of Norfolk, the rebel army broke up, and its ringleaders were punished. Soon after there was a great rising of the people and nobles in Yorkshire, led by a young lawyer, Robert Aske. The rebels, who had for their banner a painting of Christ crucified, took York, Hull, and Pontefract, and marched southwards to the Don. Their rising was called the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' and they wished to get the king to put away Cromwell and bring back the old religion. The Duke of Norfolk, the chief of the old nobles, went against them and promised them pardon and a parliament to be held at York to consider their grievances. But when the rebel army had broken up nothing was done by the king, and next year their leaders were seized and put to death for high treason. One more source of danger only remained. There was fear of a rising in the West, where the Yorkist party was strong under the leadership of the Marquis of Exeter, a grandson of Edward IV. The birth of a son to King Henry, in October 1537, seemed to shut out the Yorkists from all hopes of the succession. The Marquis of Exeter and his friends were arrested, and on the evidence of having spoken treasonable words were condemned to death.

10 Thus the king had triumphed over all his foes. Cromwell's spies were spread over the land, and men were afraid even to speak against him. He felt strong enough to go on with his work and to put down all

the monasteries that were still in the land. Many of them were forced to give up their lands to the king. At last, in 1539, an Act of Parliament put an end to them all. Their property went to the king, who founded a few new bishoprics out of them, but most of their money was spent on his own pleasures. Their lands were given away or sold for small sums to the new nobles. Much of the lands of the Church now passed into the hands of laymen, so that many more families began to rise in wealth and importance. Moreover, when the monasteries had been put down a great change came over Parliament. The greater abbots, as the heads of the monasteries were called, had seats in the House of Lords. Now that they were gone the House of Lords became much smaller, and the power of the Church in Parliament, and so in making laws, was much less than it had been before.

Dissolution
of the greater
monasteries

CHAPTER V

REFORM OF DOCTRINE

I WE have seen so far the steps which had been taken in England (1) to reform the clergy, (2) to make the English Church a national Church. We have next to see what steps were taken (3) to reform the doctrines or beliefs of the old Church.

Many men had taught that the beliefs of the Church in their day had grown different from the beliefs which the Apostles had taught. The chief man who had set this opinion forward in England was John Wiclif, in the reign of Edward III.

Desire for
reform of
doctrine.

In the history of those times may be found the causes

why men were afraid to listen to him. He left followers after him, who were called *Lollards*, and were persecuted by the kings who came after Edward III, because they thought that their opinions were wrong. Still something of their feeling remained in England, and when once changes in Church matters began to be made there were men to speak out more boldly their opinion that the doctrines of the Church ought to be changed as well.

2 Moreover, in Germany Martin Luther had taught that many of the doctrines of the Roman Church were wrong, and many men had believed his teaching. His followers were called *Protestants*, because they had *protested* against the

Protestant
ism in Ger-
many

decree of the Diet of Speyer in 1529, commanding the mass to be said in all churches. Henry VIII had written a book against Luther, and did not agree with him, nor did he wish to change the beliefs of the English Church. But in fighting against the authority of the Pope he was obliged to set up the authority of the Bible, as the Protestants had done in Germany. So Protestant opinions began to be openly held in England, and Protestant books were spread in the land.

3 In 1536 ten Articles of Religion were passed by the Convocation of the Clergy, which were in some way like

The Bible
in English.

what the German Protestants believed. The Bible, which had been done into English by William Tyndale, afterwards corrected by Miles Coverdale, was put into every church. Some of the old feasts of the Church were done away with, as being needless. Images were taken down, so that they might not be worshipped by the ignorant. The shrines of saints were stripped, even the great shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury was pulled down, and the saint's bones were taken away.

4 Henry wished to see all superstitious beliefs done away with, but he still believed the doctrines of the old Church and did not agree with the German Protestants. Most men in England wished the same, but there was a small body of English Protestants who greatly wished to have the doctrines of the Church entirely reformed. They had grown bold as they saw the changes which the king was making. They said and did many things which angered those who did not think as they did. Many things which most people thought to be holy, and so to be revered, the Protestants thought to be superstitious and to be laughed at. So men grew to dislike the Protestants, who said and did many foolish things. The king became angry with them, for he thought they were disorderly in wishing to go farther than he would allow. In 1539, Parliament passed the Bill of Six Articles, which was so called because it went against the Protestants in six points of their teaching. Priests were not allowed to marry, and men were ordered to confess their sins to a priest.

Doings of
the Pro-
testants.

5 Some who would not obey the Six Articles were put to death. Henry was afraid of the disorders which had taken place in Germany after Luther's teaching had been spread among the people. There the poor people had risen against the rich. Men had set themselves above the law, for they said the law was only made for the wicked, but they were holy. Men were carried away by their new religious beliefs, and thought that nothing else was wanted except these religious beliefs. They forgot that what men do depends a great deal on what they see other men doing around them, and that laws are therefore needful in a state to make men hold together and do the same things for one another's good. So it came about that Henry per

Persecutions
of the Pro-
testants,
1539

secuted those who would not obey the laws about matters of religious belief

6 There were then two parties in the land—one that wished to keep as closely as might be to the old Church, the other wanting to make such changes in the doctrines of the Church as Luther had made in some parts of Germany. At the head of the first of these parties stood the Duke of Norfolk, at the head of the other were Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer

7 Cromwell still had great plans before him of carrying out the work which he had begun. He wanted to make England strong in Europe, as the head of all the nations which had separated from the Pope. He tried to gather them all together against the Emperor Charles V, who was the head of all the peoples that still held to the Pope. Cromwell wished to bind Henry VIII to the Protestant princes of Germany. Though the emperor ruled over all Germany yet every prince ruled his own state under the emperor. Now the emperor threatened to make war against those who followed Luther and were called Protestants. Cromwell hoped to get the king of France, who had been so long at war with the emperor, to join with Henry and the German Protestants: then they would together be strong enough to beat the emperor.

8 So in 1540 Cromwell brought about a marriage between Henry and Anne of Cleves, who was a kinswoman of the Elector of Saxony, then the chief of the German Protestant princes. But his great plans failed. The king of France made peace with the emperor instead of joining with Henry. The German princes were afraid of the emperor, and he won them over to make peace with him. Moreover, Henry disliked his wife so much that he would not live with her. She was soon put away, and was content with the money

which was paid her Cromwell had told him she was beautiful, and Henry was disappointed in her He was angry with Cromwell, who had many enemies eager to speak against him He was accused of having deceived the king and done things in his name without his knowledge He was not even allowed to plead his cause, for he was not brought to trial, but was condemned to death by Parliament by a *Bill of Attainder*, that is, an Act of Parliament declaring a man guilty of treason and condemning him to death

9 Cromwell had few friends He had entirely given himself up to work for the king, and had made enemies of the nobles, the people, and those who held to the old Church Yet the king gave him over to his foes the moment his plans failed

Cromwell's
work in
England

No length of service could make a man sure of the king's favour Cromwell was put to death in 1540, and men were glad when he fell, for he had ruled harshly, and men had feared him greatly, yet he had carried out two great works for England—he had reformed the English Church, and had done away with the power of the Pope in England, moreover, he had put into the hands of the king all the power which had been taken away from the Pope and the clergy These great changes had been brought about without any war at home or abroad

10 Still there was the question how far the changes in the beliefs of the old Church should be allowed to go in England This was the question that filled up the rest of the reign of Henry VIII The two parties, those who wished for changes in belief and those who did not, were struggling against one another The king seemed to lean first to one side and then to the other After Cromwell's fall his chief minister was the Duke of Norfolk, the head of the old nobles, who was in favour of the old Church The

Struggles
of religious
parties

king married his niece, Katharine[†] Howard, in 1540, but she was found to have been a bad woman before her marriage, and was condemned to death for treason in 1541. In 1543 the king married Katharine Parr, who was in favour of the Protestants. They slowly gained power. The Litany and a few prayers were put into English to be used in churches instead of the old services. The Protestants were still persecuted at times, but they gradually grew stronger.

11 The head of the reforming party was the Earl of Hertford, brother of Queen Jane Seymour, and therefore uncle of Prince Edward, the king's only son and heir to the throne. Hertford became more powerful with the king as he found that his life was drawing to an end. His wish then was that his son should peaceably succeed him, and that the kingdom should be ruled for him until he grew old enough to rule it for himself. He naturally thought that the prince's uncle was most likely to be faithful to him. The Duke of Norfolk was suspected of wishing to seize the regency while the young prince was still under age. He and his son, the Earl of Surrey, were thrown into prison, and Surrey was executed. Norfolk was still in prison when the king died, January 28, 1547. In his will he named a council of sixteen members who were to rule the kingdom till his son came of age. This council was chosen from men of both parties, but the Earl of Hertford was put at its head.

12 The country was so much accustomed to be ruled by one man that Hertford found it easy to get himself made head of the Government, with the title of 'Protector of the Realm'. He was also made Duke of Somerset, as was said, by the king's will.

13 The Protector Somerset was in favour of Protestantism, and he and Archbishop Cranmer lost no time in

making the changes they wanted. The English Church had been separated from the rule of the Pope: it was now to be cleansed from all the errors which the Protestants thought there were in its beliefs. Changes were quickly made which could not fail to shock those who had been brought up to the services of the old Church. Images were everywhere pulled down. The pictures which were painted on church walls were covered with whitewash. The old services were laughed at, and sermons were preached against them. Old customs were broken all at once. Archbishop Cranmer set an example of eating meat in Lent. The Prayer Book, which had been made before, was now added to and made such as we now use it in the English Church. Commissions were sent all over the country to see that all images and paintings were taken away from the churches, and to make the clergy use the new Prayer Book.

Progress of
the Reformation ✓

These changes could not be made without grieving many people in England. By far the greater number of Englishmen did not wish for them. They were made, however, all at once, and they could only be made sure if the men who had made them behaved very wisely in all else that they did. The Reformation was not a question which had to do with the people of England alone. It had become the chief question among all the nations of Europe, and the Catholic and Protestant peoples were likely to go to war with one another about it. It needed a wise man to settle this question in England. But Somerset and the chiefs of the Protestants were not wise, and we have to see how they made confusion.

Somerset's
dangers

CHAPTER VI

PROTESTANT MISRULE

1 WE have seen how the religious changes in England were begun by men like Wolsey, who had been taught by the 'new learning,' and wished to improve the lax discipline of the Church and the ignorance of the clergy, they wished to make the Church and its management fit in with the greater knowledge which men had gained. The changes which they began as a means of improving the old Church the Protestants carried farther and set to work to make changes in matters of belief. In the parts of Germany where the Protestants had their own way, it was seen that their opinions went farther than matters of religious belief and affected the whole political system of Germany. The old Church had been so much bound up with the State that a change in one seemed likely to lead to changes in the other. The Protestant states and the Catholic states of Germany no longer held together as they had done before. They no longer had the same interests, and seemed likely to separate from one another in government as well as in religion. The emperor, who was the ruler of Germany, was waiting till he was strong enough to use force to make the Protestant states come back to the old system.

Political
difficulties
of the Reformation

Henry VIII had not let the Protestants have their own way, as he did not want to have England divided and his own power lessened. Many men were frightened at what they saw taking place in Germany. The Pope and the chief bishops in Europe set themselves against all change, for they were afraid that it might go too far. The men of learning, who did not wish to go as far as the Protestants, grew afraid also. As men grew more angry

they did not listen to them So the moderate men, who had begun these changes, ceased to have any power All through Europe were the two parties of the Catholics and the Protestants, who seemed likely soon to go to war against one another

2 In this state of things England would be very weak if it were divided Henry VIII had tried to keep the country united, but Somerset's violent changes made many people dissatisfied Difficulties of Somerset. Besides, they made England an entirely Protestant country, and so more likely to be attacked by Catholic states Yet the bulk of the people did not care about Protestantism, and would not be ready to fight for it with goodwill If Somerset were to succeed he must act very wisely in making England strong in other ways

3 Now, one way in which Henry VIII had tried to make England strong was by being at peace with Scotland, and by trying to win over the Scots to like England and join with it in what it did Henry VIII and Scotland, 1530-46 He tried to get King James V to reform the Scottish Church in the same way as the English Church had been reformed But James V was afraid to do so The nobles in Scotland were very powerful, and the bishops were the men who helped the king most James V did not dare to quarrel with his bishops, so he would not do as Henry counselled On the contrary, he married a wife from France, and made an alliance with the French king In November 1542 he sent an army of 10,000 men against England, but it entirely failed, because the nobles were angry at an upstart being made commander, and his troops fell into disorder They took to flight before a few Englishmen, and losing themselves in the marsh-land beside the Solway Firth, were killed or made prisoners Hence the battle was called the Battle of Solway Moss The king died of grief at ✓

his defeat, and Henry VIII tried to get his son, Prince Edward, married to Mary, the daughter of the Scottish king, and heiress to the throne. He got on his side a party among the Scots, who were in favour of the Reformation. Some of them entered the castle of St Andrews and put to death Cardinal Beaton, the leader of the Catholic party, who was then at the head of the Scottish Government (May 1546). They were stirred to do this because Cardinal Beaton had ordered one of the Protestant preachers to be burned. After killing the Cardinal they shut themselves up in the castle, which was very strong, and sent for help to the King of England.

4 Henry VIII hoped that he might use these troubles in Scotland as a way of getting the Scots to do what he wished. But after his death Somerset did

Somerset
and Scot
land 1547-8

foolishly. He made a treaty with the Protestants, but he sent no soldiers to help them.

Meanwhile the French sent soldiers, by whose help the castle of St Andrews was taken, and the Protestants were beaten for a time. Then Somerset gathered together an army to try and force the Scots to give their young queen in marriage to the young King of England, Edward VI. He beat the Scots in a battle fought at Pinkie cleugh, near Edinburgh (September 1547). Many of the Scots were slain, and their land was laid waste. Somerset did not stay in Scotland after the battle, as he was afraid to be away from England. He had used enough force to make the Scots hate the English, and not enough to make them do as he wished. Next year the young Queen Mary was sent to France, where she was betrothed to the heir to the French throne. Somerset had made the Scots become again the close friends of France and the enemies of the English, which was just what Henry VII and Henry VIII had been trying to prevent.

5 Soon there were troubles at home We have seen that much of the land in England had changed hands in late years, and that many men could find no work under the new landlords Thus there ^{Discontent in England} had grown up a large class of vagrants, who begged or stole Laws were passed against them, but it was of no use to make laws that men should work, and to punish them for not working, when there was no work for them to do A hard law was passed in 1547 against these vagrants, which made many men discontented Many men were ill-pleased at the changes made in their churches, which they did not understand But the chief thing the poor complained of was the enclosure of commons by the new landlords These pieces of common land the people had used before, but now the landlords set hedges round them, and added them to their own fields So many poor people lost their means of livelihood in this way

6 Thus there was great discontent in the land, and Somerset tried to set it at rest by sending round commissioners to enquire about the commons The ^{Rising in} people thought he was on their side, and at ¹⁵⁴⁹ last took up arms in Cornwall and Devonshire, and in Norfolk (1549) In Devonshire the rebels besieged Exeter, and were on the point of taking it, when Lord Grey brought soldiers to its relief and defeated the rebels on Clifton Down, and afterwards at Bridgewater In Norfolk they were very strong under a leader called Robert Ket, a tanner, but were at last put down by the Earl of Warwick The nobles blamed Somerset for having caused this rising, because he led the people to hope that he would be on their side The rebels had been beaten, not by Somerset, but by Warwick, who was now stronger in the council than was Somerset

7 Besides this, Somerset was unpopular for other

reasons His brother, Lord Seymour, had plotted to get the government into his own hands His plots were discovered, and he was put to death by Parliament Still the people looked with some anger on Somerset, who could in this way bring his brother to the block Somerset also gave offence by his grandeur He built a palace in London in the place which still goes by the name of Somerset House To build it he pulled down churches, so that men murmured at his want of reverence

8 For all these reasons men had ceased to care for Somerset The man who was most powerful in the council after him was John Dudley, Earl of Warwick He was the son of that Dudley who had been put to death when Henry VIII came to the throne, for the way in which he had robbed the people to please Henry VII Yet though Henry VIII had put the father to death he had raised the son, and had left him one of the executors of his will Warwick had gradually become strong in the council, and when Somerset was no longer trusted Warwick led most of the other members of the council to attack him Somerset strove to keep his power, but men fell away from him He was obliged to give way and to resign his office (December 1549)

9 At first men hoped that the council would now change what Somerset had done But Warwick does not seem to have felt himself strong enough to do so He was a man who cared little about religion, and had little love for his country he sought only his own interests, and tried to do what was best for himself In this he was unlike Somerset, who was in earnest in all he did, and wished to set up Protestantism in England because he believed in it Still Somerset and Warwick both governed England badly, for Somerset was as unwise as Warwick was selfish.

10 Warwick did much the same things as Somerset had done. In 1548 France had gone to war with England. But Warwick now made peace with France, and gave up to it Boulogne, which Henry VIII had taken in 1544, and kept at the end of the war. He favoured the Protestants in religious matters, and they had things more and more their own way. Many men came over from Germany and taught the new doctrines. The bishops who held more of the old beliefs, such as Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, were thrown into prison, and then bishops were put in their place. Cranmer made 'Articles of Religion,' which all the clergy had to sign. All images and paintings were destroyed in churches, and no services might be used except those which had been set forth in the Prayer Book.

Reformation
under
Warwick.

11 Now, many of these changes might be good in themselves, but they were not made in a good way. The nobles only wanted to get more of the Church lands for themselves. The Protestants did not deal kindly with those of the old way of thinking, and did not show them much of the spirit of Christian love. They behaved like a party which had won the day, and did not try to spread their opinions by kindness and gentleness, but rather by force. Many men, also, who led wicked lives pretended to be anxious to spread Protestant opinions, and brought disgrace on them by their evil deeds.

Faults of the
Reformers.

12 Warwick, who had now taken the title of Duke of Northumberland, was soon disliked by the people more than Somerset had been, and Somerset again began to gather his friends round him, and hoped to get back his power. He was taken prisoner and brought to trial. Being convicted of felony he was condemned to death, and was beheaded in January 1552.

Death of
Somerset

In those days a great minister of state who had lost his office could scarcely hope to live in safety. He must keep in power, or must expect death.

13 After this Northumberland had no one whom he need fear, but the young king's failing health gave him cause for alarm. Edward VI had always been a weakly boy. He had tried to take part in the business of the state, and this had made his health grow weaker. It was clear that he could not live much longer. By the Act of Succession, passed in 1544, the next to succeed to the throne, if Edward died without children, was the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII by Queen Katharine, his first wife. Mary was not likely to be in favour of Protestantism. The quarrel with the Pope had come about because he had refused his consent to her mother's divorce. Mary still held to the old religious services, though the council had tried to force her to give up using the mass service. She turned for help to her powerful kinsman, the Emperor Charles V, who threatened England with war. Mary was left alone, and was known to be devoted to the Pope and to the Emperor.

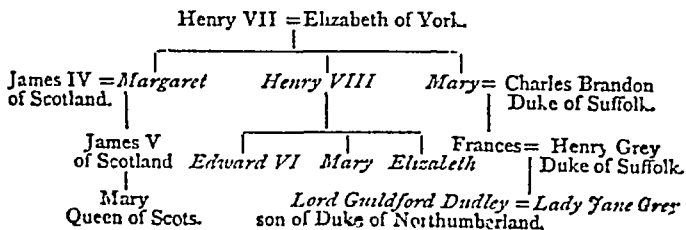
14 Northumberland saw that if Mary came to the throne he would be ruined, and all his plans would be undone. He determined to try and prevent this. Edward VI, though only sixteen years old, had his own opinions and liked to have his own way. He was very much in favour of Protestantism, and so did not wish that his sister Mary should come after him and undo all that had been done. Northumberland persuaded him that he had power to settle by will who should succeed him, as his father had done. Henry VIII, however, had had that power given by an Act of Parliament, which Edward VI was going to set aside.

15 Edward VI made his judges draw up a paper in

which his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, were passed over and the throne was left to his cousin, Lady Jane Grey. This paper was signed by all the great men round the king. The next heir by Henry VIII's will was Lady Jane's mother, the Duchess of Suffolk, but she was willing to give way to her daughter. Henry VIII had left the throne, if all his children should die without issue, to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, passing over altogether his elder sister, Margaret.¹ Edward VI now gave the throne, after his own death, to Lady Jane Grey, the eldest granddaughter of Mary Northumberland had, a few weeks before, married Lady Jane to his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, and hoped in this way to keep the power in his own hands after Edward's death. Most men did not like this arrangement, and many of the chief men who signed it did so very unwillingly.

16 When Edward VI died (July 1553) Queen Jane was proclaimed. But men did not like to see the old customs set aside in this way, and would have none but their lawful queen to reign over them. Mary managed to make her escape when Northumberland sent to have her brought to London. Men gathered round her, and Northumberland was disliked by almost all. When he marched against Mary his soldiers fell away from him. The chief nobles gathered

¹ Genealogical table of descendants of Henry VII



round Mary, and Northumberland found it hopeless to hold out any longer. At Cambridge, whither he had gone to seize Mary, he himself proclaimed Mary queen, and soon after was taken prisoner.

17 He and some of his friends were brought to trial and condemned for high treason. His selfishness showed itself greatly in his last hours. In hopes of escaping death he put away Protestantism, and even on the scaffold he said to the people that he had always been in his heart a Catholic. We cannot wonder that the changes in religion which had been made by such men as this were not believed in very much by the people. The changes which had been made since the death of Henry VIII had pleased very few. The men who had made them were neither wise nor good. The people were glad to think that under Queen Mary they would go back to the old religion, which most of them liked better than the changes which had been lately made.

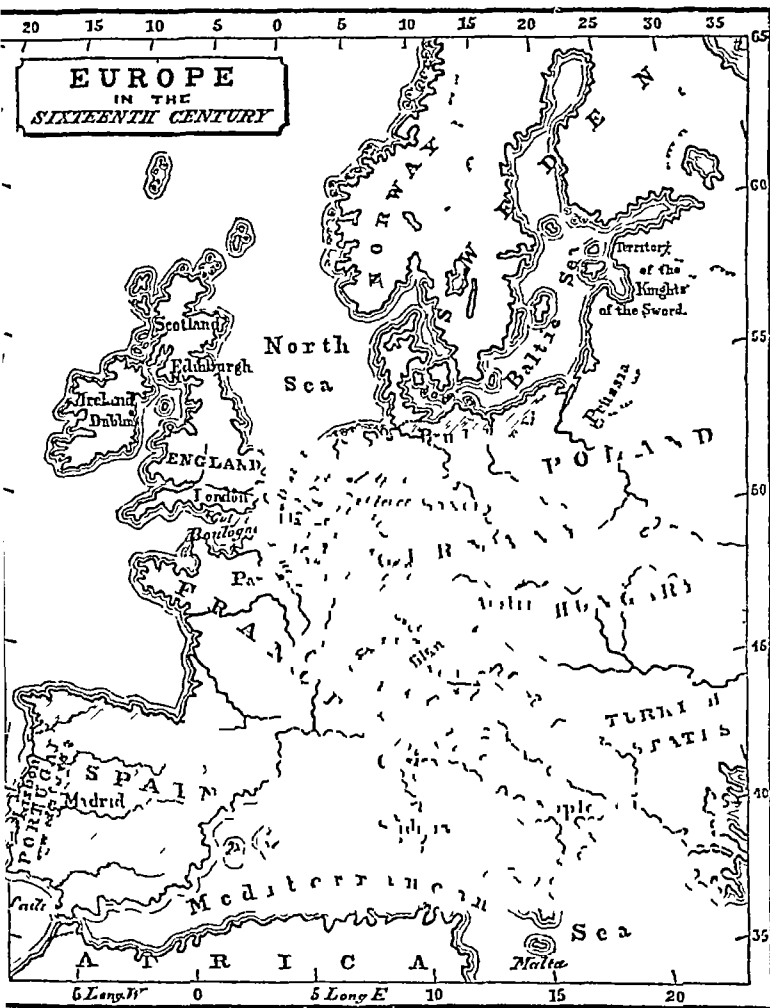
Death of
Northum-
berland.

CHAPTER VII

CATHOLICISM BROUGHT BACK

1 MARY, from the beginning of her reign, was anxious to bring back into England the old religion. She trusted to her cousin, the Emperor Charles V, to help her by his advice. She began by bringing back the old services for her own use, and many of the clergy followed the example she set and brought them back into their churches. The bishops made in the last reign were turned out of their sees and the old bishops were brought back. Archbishop Cranmer wrote against the mass service which was again used in Canterbury Cathedral. He was sent to the Tower,

Mary brings
back the old
services.



The shaded part on of the map shows the extent of the Austro-Spanish empire but Charles V did not rule over Portugal, nor Philip II over Germany

and other of the Protestant bishops with him Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was taken from the Tower and made Lord Chancellor Cranmer, Lady Jane, and her husband were tried for high treason and were found guilty, but were not put to death just yet

When Parliament met it did away with all the religious changes which had been made during the last reign, and things were brought back to the state in which they were at the death of Henry VIII

2 So far the people were glad at what Mary had done, but it would not be such an easy matter to bring back the English Church to obey the Pope, and so set up the old state of things Yet Mary wanted to do this, and to join herself entirely with Spain There was a general feeling that Mary should marry an Englishman, and Gardiner would have liked her to take Courtenay, Earl of Devon, but Mary would have no other husband but Philip, the son and heir of Charles V

3 Men in England did not like this marriage They had no wish to have a king from abroad, and Philip would soon be King of Spain, and so the most powerful king in Europe Spain was entirely on the side of the Pope, and Philip would be likely to do his best for Catholicism It is true that Philip was to have nothing more than the title of King in England, he was to have no power whatever over the government Still men were afraid of the marriage, and there was much discontent A plan was formed by those who were in favour of Protestantism and those who disliked a marriage with Spain to set up Elizabeth as queen and marry her to the Earl of Devon, who was son of the Marquis of Exeter beheaded by Henry VIII, and thus a descendant of Edward IV In Devonshire and Cornwall the rising was unsuccessful, but in Kent Sir Thomas Wyatt

gathered a large force and marched against London. Mary threw herself upon the goodwill of the citizens, who rose to defend her. Wyatt hoped that they would rise in his favour. He marched into London, but his troops fell away, and he was taken prisoner (February 1554).

Wyatt's rebellion.

After this Mary felt that her throne was safe. Lady Jane Grey and her husband were put to death. Elizabeth was threatened and sent to the Tower, but it was not thought wise to proceed against her. In July Philip landed in England and was married to Mary.

4 It was now easy to set up again the headship of the Pope over the English Church, as the Pope was willing that the lands belonging to the monasteries should not be taken from their new owners and given back to the Church. Cardinal Pole, grandson of the Duke of Clarence, who had refused to agree to Henry VIII's divorce and had fled to Rome, was now sent to England as Papal legate. Men received him with respect, and Parliament agreed to unite the English Church with the Church of Rome. Pole solemnly absolved the land from its sin of schism. Philip and Mary, together with all the members of Parliament, knelt before him as he did so. The headship of the Pope over the English Church was again allowed, and all Acts of Parliament against it were done away.

Headship of the Pope again set up ✓

5 The restored clergy were resolved to use their victory. The old laws against the Lollards which had been made in Henry IV's reign, but had been done away with in Edward VI's time, were again put in force. Men were to be driven back to the old religion. Persecution was at once begun, and the leading Protestants were marked out for death. They were brought to trial before the bishops, and if they would not change their opinions were condemned to be burned.

Persecution of the Protestants

The chief Protestant teachers were put to death in the places where they had taught, so that all men might be afraid. During the years from 1555 to 1558 these persecutions always went on, sometimes more fiercely than at others.

6 The most famous of those who were put to death for their opinions were the Bishops Ridley and Latimer and Archbishop Cranmer, who were all burned at Oxford. Ridley and Latimer suffered together, in October 1555. 'Play the man, Master Ridley,' said Latimer, as the fire was being lighted, 'we shall this day light such a candle in England as by the grace of God shall never be put out.' Cranmer was kept longer in prison, and was led to hope that his life would be spared if he laid aside his opinions. He wrote through fear and unsaid what he had said in his teaching, but he was condemned to death all the same. He saw his cowardice and tried to do away with its ill results at the last. He declared to the people his firm belief in Protestantism, and when at the stake held his right hand to be burned first in the fire, saying that his hand had offended in writing what his heart had not believed.

7 Yet these persecutions did not have the effect which Mary and the bishops hoped for. Men were not so much frightened by them as roused to anger. Those who suffered death won the sympathy of the crowd by their quiet courage. Most Englishmen did not agree with the Protestants, but still did not think it right that they should be burned for their opinions. The persecution, instead of putting down Protestantism, rather made men think more of it.

8 It was Mary herself who urged on this persecution. She cared above all other things for her mother's religion and for her mother's country. She thought more of

Spain than of England, and never knew the thoughts and feelings of the English people. She believed it to be her highest duty to bring back the old religion into England, and she thought it right to use all her power to do so. When

Mary and
the perse-
cutions

the bishops wished to cease from persecuting she bade them go on. The more she saw her attempts fail the more she believed it to be her duty to show greater zeal. She believed that it was a holy cause for which she was striving, and she thought that the great reason which kept it back was because people were not enough in earnest. So it was that the queen herself was the chief in carrying on persecution. Though she was good and kind in other things she still got from those who came after the name of 'Bloody Mary,' and by her persecution she deserved it.

9 In this way the people came to hate Mary's government. Her ill-health made men look for a change. Her chief adviser on religious things was Cardinal

Pole, who after Cranmer's death was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and who was of

Mary and
the Church
lands

the same mind as the Queen about bringing back the old religion. The queen went still farther in her wish to please the Pope. She wished to give back to the Church much of its property which had passed into the hands of the crown. Parliament was with great difficulty got to consent to this. Mary also set up the monks and friars in some of the places from which they had been driven, and gave them back lands. Men were afraid that the Church lands would soon have to be given back, and as these had already been divided amongst 40,000 owners, to give them back would make a great disturbance. So the queen and her wishes to bring back the old state of things grew more and more disliked, and plots were made against her. They were, however, made without much care, and were easily put down.

10 Soon, however, troubles arose abroad which made the people of England still more discontented with Mary's government. Charles V gave up his kingdoms to his son Philip in 1556 and went to end his life in quiet in a monastery in Spain. Philip II made war against France, and England was persuaded to help him. In 1557 he gained a great victory over the French at St. Quentin. The French wished to do something in return. They saw that the town of Calais, which was the last English possession in France, was not properly guarded. The Government of Mary was so busy with religious matters that it paid little heed to the army or to the navy. So when the French attacked Calais in the first week of 1558 it fell almost at once into their hands, and the last of all the English possessions in France was lost.

Men looked on this as a great disgrace, and England roused itself to make war, but little was done.

11 Moreover, in this war between France and Spain the Pope had taken the side of France, and so was against England. Mary found herself after all opposed to the Pope, though she had been trying to do everything she could in England in his behalf. The Pope quarrelled with the archbishop, Pole, and took from him his office of Papal Legate, on which much of his power depended. Mary was obliged to do as her father had done and prevent the Pope's letters from being brought into England. At the same time she went on still more zealously with the persecutions as she found difficulties growing around her.

12 Thus her reign closed in disappointment to herself and disgrace to her people. England had lost Calais, was plunged in debt, and had no soldiers or ships in proper order. The queen, after bringing on herself the people's hatred by what she

War with
France.

The Pope
opposed to
Mary

Gloom of
Mary's last
days.

had done to bring back the power of the Pope, found herself and her chief ministers distrusted and disliked by the Pope. The persecutions had driven many away from England. Some of those who fled after the failure of Wyatt's rising sailed in the Channel as pirates, and did harm to the trade of Spain. Mary had no child, and was left alone by her husband, whom she loved very fondly, but who cared little for her. Her health was failing, and after Gardiner's death, in 1555, she had no friend whom she could trust except Pole. She could look forward to nothing except the overthrow of all her plans when Elizabeth came to the throne. Her people disliked her, and were waiting eagerly for her death. She died in November 1558, worn out by sorrow. Pole, who was also ill at the same time, died on the next day.

13 No one made any opposition to the coming to the throne of the Princess Elizabeth. As she was the daughter of Anne Boleyn it was likely that she would wish to do quite different things from the daughter of Katharine of Arragon. She had been carefully watched during Mary's reign, and after Wyatt's rebellion her life had been for a time in danger, but Wyatt would not bear witness against her. She had learned from this how to behave with caution. Men were glad when she came to the throne, for they hoped that she would put an end to the troubles of the last two reigns, and would again bring quiet into the land.

Elizabeth
comes to
the throne,
November
1558

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT UNDER ELIZABETH

1 THE people of England had not liked the way in which the old religion had been brought back, for it had

seemed to them to put their country under the power of other countries, and no longer to leave it as free to act for itself as it had been before. The Pope and Catholicism the King of Spain had meddled with affairs in England, and the country had suffered nothing but loss in consequence. So men were ready to see the authority of the Pope again overthrown, for they thought that so they might have greater freedom.

2 But it was not an easy matter to bring back Protestantism peaceably. Philip II was determined to put down Protestantism everywhere, and so would not be friendly with a Protestant country. Difficulties in bringing back Protestantism. England was still at war with France, and the heir to the French crown was married to Mary Queen of Scots. Some men in England, who belonged to the strongly Catholic party, would willingly have seen Mary of Scotland made Queen of England instead of Elizabeth. Mary¹ was the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Margaret, and though she had been passed over in Henry VIII's will, many men in England thought that she was their rightful queen, for they believed that Elizabeth was not born of a lawful marriage.

If Elizabeth brought back Protestantism she could not help quarrelling with France and Spain. Her only hope was that, as France and Spain were enemies to one another, she might manage to keep Spain on her side at first. Though Philip II wanted England to remain Catholic he did not want to see Mary on the throne of England, for she would bring England to the side of France, so that it would be against him. At first he offered to marry Elizabeth, but she refused to follow her sister's example, as she had seen the evils it had caused. She tried, however, to keep Philip on friendly terms, and made peace with France, giving up Calais to it (1559).

¹ See genealogical table, p. 325

3 Thus it was that Elizabeth wished to behave cautiously about religion. She herself did not agree with all that the Protestants had done in Edward VI's reign. She did not want to do away with the old Church, as they had done, but she wanted to make such changes in it as would satisfy moderate men, and she wanted to set up a form of religion which everybody could take part in. She saw how needful it was that the country should remain one, and should not be split up into religious parties.

Elizabeth's
religious
views

At first Elizabeth went to the old service of the mass, but she ordered the bishop not to lift the cup over his head for the people to worship, as the old custom was when he did so she left the church. Next she allowed the Lessons, the Litany, and the Creed to be read in churches in the English tongue. Meanwhile a committee was appointed to look over the Prayer Book and make changes in it.

4. When Parliament met in January 1559 religious questions were at once taken up. The revenues which Mary had given back to the Church were now again given to the crown. The title of 'Supreme Head of the Church' was again given to the queen, but she refused it, and would only agree to a law which made the crown 'in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme.' In this way she hoped not to offend the Catholics, while at the same time she got rid of the power of the Pope. To carry out the power of the crown in Church matters a body of commissioners were appointed, who were afterwards called the 'High Commission Court,' and who helped the Stuart kings to do harsh and illegal acts in later times. All the clergy and all who held office under the queen were to take an oath to accept the royal supremacy.

Religious
changes,
1559

5 Next, the Prayer Book in which the commissioners

had made some changes was laid before Parliament, and was ordered to be used in all churches. An Act called the Act of Uniformity was also passed ordering that no other services should be used than those laid down in the Prayer Book. Thus the old services were again got rid of, and the Church of England was again separated from the Roman Church, which was never again set up in England.

6 The clergy did not at once agree to these changes. It happened, however, that many of the old bishops had died just before Elizabeth came to the throne. Bishops and clergy New ones were put in their places who liked the changes. Those of the old bishops who would not accept them were turned out of their sees. The new Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, was of the same mind as the queen in religious matters, and wished with her to carry out the changes peaceably. Only two of the old bishops remained, but most of the lower clergy submitted to the change—only eighty gave up their livings. Still most of them were really in favour of the old religion, and Elizabeth had to trust to her bishops to keep them in order.

Many changes were made in small matters which it was hard to carry out as quietly as Elizabeth wished. One of these was the marriage of the clergy, which the old religion had not allowed. Now, when the clergy began to marry they did not always marry fitting wives, and so gave great offence. Elizabeth, to prevent this, would only allow them to marry after getting permission, and the marriage of the clergy was not made lawful till the next reign.

7 In this way Elizabeth hoped that she had set up a form of religion which would satisfy most of her subjects. She had made a Church of England separate from the Church of Rome. No Pope nor foreign king could

interfere in religious matters in the land. The old religion had been freed from superstitions, but had not been done away with. Those who believed in the old religion were bidden to be thankful that so much of it was left. Those who believed in the new were bidden to be thankful that they had got so much of what they wanted. The chief minister of Elizabeth who advised her in all those matters, and by his caution carried them into effect, was William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh. He had helped Elizabeth before she came to the throne among the many dangers which lay around her. Up to his death in 1598 he was always the queen's chief adviser, and must share with her the praise for wisdom and prudence in all that she did.

The Church
of England
as set up by
Elizabeth.

8 The dangers which threatened the land made men rest content for a while with what Elizabeth had done. They saw that it was the best way of keeping the country quiet and safe. There were so many dangers to be faced that it was foolish to quarrel. Mary, who became in July 1559 Queen of France, had begun to call herself Queen of England also. It seemed likely that France would make war upon England in Mary's name. If France conquered, Catholicism would be brought back, and England would be ruled as if it were a part of France. This thought made men of different opinions willing to stand by Elizabeth and rest content with the form of religion which she had set up in England. It was better than Catholicism and the rule of the French or the Spaniards.

England's
dangers

CHAPTER IX

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

1 ELIZABETH when she came to the throne found England at war with France, and she found also France in close alliance with Scotland, owing to the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots with the heir of the French throne. This alliance of France and Scotland was very dangerous to Elizabeth, as the French could land troops in Scotland—indeed, had troops there already—and so might invade England, which was in a very defenceless state. It had neither troops nor generals, and the last two reigns had done nothing to keep up the fortresses. To keep off this danger Elizabeth determined to give help to the party among the Scots which was opposed to their queen and to the French influence. This party was strongly Protestant, and Elizabeth's chief minister, Sir William Cecil, who was afterwards made Lord Burleigh, did all he could to set England at the head of all the Protestants in Europe.

2 The desire for a reformation of the Church in Scotland had come from the corrupt state of the Church itself. The Scottish kings had never been able to bring the nobles into obedience to the law, as had been done in England. The only power to which the kings could look for help against the nobles was the Church, so they had tried to get it entirely on their side. So the chief offices in the Church were given to younger sons of the nobles, to attach them to the king. Many of them were very unfit for their offices and led unholy lives, so that people did not look on them with respect, but wished to have the Church set right.

3 The reforming party grew in Scotland, following the example set them in England, but we have seen how

the battle of Pinkie had set the Scots against England, and had made them more ready to ally with France. The Scottish bishops when they thought that they were protected by France were more bold to persecute the Protestant teachers, and so grew more disliked. The Scots also soon became more afraid of France than of England. They wanted to govern themselves, as they had always done, so they did not like the notion of being ruled by France, which they thought very likely to come to pass.

4 Chief among the Protestant teachers in Scotland was John Knox. He was one of those who in 1547 held the castle of St Andrews against the French after the murder of Cardinal Beaton. When the castle was taken he was sent as a prisoner to the French galleys. On his release he came to England and took part with the English reformers under Edward VI. In 1559 he came back to Scotland from Geneva and taught. His influence grew greater and many gathered around him. In December 1557 some of the Scottish lords had met together and entered into a *bond or covenant* to uphold God's word and defend His congregation to the death. Next year, when a Protestant preacher was burned for his opinions, these '*Lords of the Congregation*,' as they were called, threatened to take up arms.

5 Scotland was governed at this time by the queen-mother, Mary of Guise, a French woman, who bore the title of Regent. She was opposed to the Reformation, and tried to put down Protestant preaching. A sermon of Knox's at Perth led to a riot, in which images were destroyed in the churches, and many monasteries were attacked and set on fire. The Regent could not make up her mind what to do. She promised to pardon the people of Perth, but afterwards sent French troops into the town. The Lords of

the Congregation took up arms, and in June 1559 took possession of Edinburgh. Scotland was divided into two parties. On the one side was the crown and the clergy, who were helped by France. On the other side were the nobles and the Protestants. If they were to hold their own they must get help against the power of the French.

6 So it was that the Scottish lords came to ask help from Elizabeth. She did not wish to set an example of helping rebels who were fighting against the crown, but it was most needful for England not to let Scotland be joined to France, and this was the only way to hinder it. In 1560 a treaty was made at Berwick between Elizabeth and the Scottish lords. They bound themselves to unite to drive the French out of Scotland. The French held out in the castle of Leith, which was besieged by the troops of the English and the Scots. But in July 1560, after the death of the Regent, peace was made by the Treaty of Edinburgh, by which it was settled that the French troops should be withdrawn from Scotland, and that the King and Queen of France should no longer make any claim to the crown of England. The government of Scotland during the queen's absence was to be in the hands of a council.

7 In August 1560 the Scottish Parliament met, and settled religious matters entirely as the Protestants wished. The mass service was forbidden, the authority of the Pope was set aside, and the teaching of a great French religious teacher at Geneva, John Calvin, was taken as the rule of faith and conduct of the Scottish Church.

Thus England had escaped from its first danger—that France and Scotland would be joined together, and that the French would attack England from the side of

Scotland Instead of this Scotland, by the help of England, had become a Protestant nation, and so had been made a defence to England rather than a danger

8 Still the treaty of Edinburgh had not made Elizabeth safe from France King Francis II and his wife refused to agree to it War was again likely to break out in Scotland, but in December

Troubles in France.

1560 Francis II died, and Mary was left a widow at the age of eighteen Moreover, there were now religious troubles in France also The *Huguenots*, as the French Protestants were called, became very bold in their demands, and for some time France was busied with its own affairs Elizabeth gave help to the Huguenots from time to time to enable them to go on with the struggle, though she did not openly take their side

9 There was still danger from Mary of Scotland Elizabeth would have liked to be on friendly terms with her But Mary would not accept the treaty of Edinburgh, and Elizabeth would not allow her to return home through England Mary sailed to Scotland in August 1561, and though she remained a Catholic still managed to keep at first on good terms with her Protestant subjects and did nothing against them She did as she was advised by her half-brother, James Stuart, whom she made Earl of Murray

Mary goes to Scotland.

10 Mary had many firm friends in Scotland Some men in England also thought that she was the rightful queen of the land, and the Catholics looked to her to bring back the old religion Many wished to get Elizabeth to say that she was the next heir to the throne. Elizabeth was not willing to do so till Mary had laid aside all claims to it during her own lifetime. This Mary would not do, as she hoped that some foreign power or a Catholic rising in England might help to set her on the English throne In this way the two

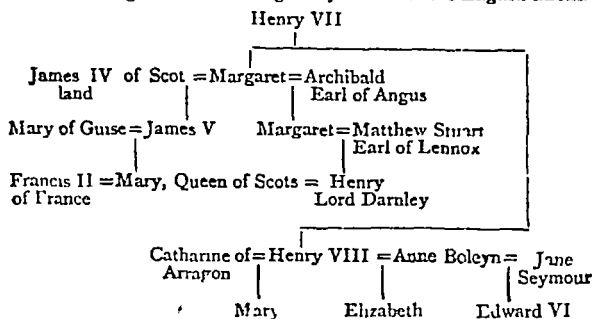
Mary and Elizabeth

queens became bitter enemies, though they kept on good terms outwardly

11 Much depended on Mary's marriage, and at one time there was talk of her marrying Don Carlos, son of Philip II of Spain. This would have made Mary's marriage with Darnley, 1565, Spain eager to set her on the English throne, and would have been very dangerous to Elizabeth. It was broken off because Don Carlos was too young. Elizabeth tried to get Mary to marry a Protestant, but at last, in 1565, Mary settled the matter by marrying her cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley¹. She gained by this marriage no new power, but she strengthened her claim on England, as Darnley was the grandson of Henry VIII's sister Margaret.

12 Darnley became a Catholic after his marriage, and many Scottish nobles followed his example. Mary looked for help to the Pope and the King of Spain, by which she would be strong enough to set up the power of the crown in Scotland, make war against England, and put down Protestantism. Many of the Scottish lords, even her half-brother, the Earl of Murray, were alarmed at the look of affairs, and took up arms, hoping for help from England. They got

¹ Genealogical table showing Mary's claim to the English throne.



none, and were forced to flee across the Border, as Mary's friends gathered round her

13 But Mary's plans were suddenly upset by her husband, who was a weak and foolish man, and wished for more power than he had. Moreover he became jealous of a secretary of the queen, David Rizzio, an Italian, who helped the queen in writing letters to her friends abroad. At last Darnley made a plot to get rid of Rizzio. Some of the nobles who were his friends helped him, and in March 1566 Rizzio was murdered at the palace of Holyrood as he was being dragged away from the queen's presence. Darnley hoped to get the queen in his power, but she won him over and escaped to Dunbar. There her friends gathered round her, and those who had taken part in the murder had to flee. Murray and the banished lords came back, and Mary took them again into favour. Soon there was quiet in Scotland again, but the queen thought it wiser to act cautiously and to put off for a time her plan of bringing back Catholicism.

14. In June 1566 a son was born to Mary, who afterwards became King of England as well as Scotland. Mary had a stronger claim on England, now that she had a son who could reign after her, while Elizabeth was still unmarried. But she soon fell into new troubles. She had never liked her husband, and the murder of Rizzio was a thing she could never forgive. One of the Scottish nobles, the earl of Bothwell, was a great favourite with her, and hoped to marry her if Darnley were only out of the way. In February 1567 the house in which Darnley was lying ill was blown up by gunpowder and Darnley was killed.

There was little doubt that Bothwell had done this, but he was too powerful to be punished. Soon he contrived to get the queen into his

Murder of
Rizzio, 1566

Murder of
Darnley

Mary mar-
ries Both-
well, 1567

power, and she agreed to marry him Bothwell already had a wife, but she was set aside, and in May 1567 Mary was married to him

15 This angered the Scottish nobles, who were afraid that Bothwell would try to set up the power of the crown against them Through fear of this they had already murdered Rizzio, and agreed to the murder of Darnley Now they rose against Bothwell, and the people were entirely on their side They looked with horror on Bothwell and Mary for the wicked deeds they believed them to have done to bring about their marriage So Bothwell found that the troops he had raised would not fight for him, and he had to flee away out of the land Mary fell into the hands of her nobles, who made her a prisoner She was put in a strong castle in the middle of Loch Leven, and was forced to lay aside the crown Her young son was made king as James VI, and the Earl of Murray was made Regent

16 Mary, however, soon managed to make her escape from her prison, and many who did not like the rule of Murray gathered round her Her forces were defeated in battle at Langside, near Glasgow, in May 1568, and Mary had to choose between falling into the hands of her nobles or fleeing to England She chose to trust to Elizabeth, and fled across Solway Frith to Workington, whence she went to Carlisle

Thus Mary's plans had entirely failed, chiefly through her own faults Elizabeth saw the enemy who had threatened her throne driven to flee to her for refuge Again had Protestantism won the upper hand in Scotland, and Elizabeth was free from danger on that side

CHAPTER X

TROUBLES IN ENGLAND

1 THE presence of Mary in England was very troublesome to Elizabeth. She did not wish to help to put her back in Scotland, nor did she wish to let her go to France. At first she talked about making Mary and her nobles friends again. But this she could not do. The Scottish lords brought forward letters which they said had been written by Mary to Bothwell, and which, if Mary really did write them, proved her to have plotted her husband's murder. These letters were most likely not really written by Mary, but they made men believe that Mary was guilty. Elizabeth would not see her, nor would she let her go. Mary had come into England of her own accord to ask for help. Elizabeth gave her no help, but kept her as a prisoner. She thought that by waiting she would see what was wisest to do.

Elizabeth
keeps Mary
prisoner

It does not seem to have been wise in the end for Elizabeth to keep Mary in England, and it was not right of her to do so. But Elizabeth seldom acted straightforwardly. She always wished to do as little as possible, and wait to see what would happen next. She would neither help Mary nor the Scottish lords, but wanted to keep them both under her power as much as she could.

2 But Mary was quite as dangerous to Elizabeth when she was a prisoner in England as she had been before. Some Englishmen looked on her as the rightful queen—nearly all thought that she was the rightful successor to Elizabeth. So plots were made from time to time in her favour, by those in England or abroad, who wished to see Catholicism brought back. First there was a plan for marrying Mary

Mary dan-
gerous in
England

to the Duke of Norfolk, the chief amongst the English nobles. This plan was found out before it was ready, and the Northern nobles, who were in arms to free Mary, failed in their attempt. In November 1569 the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland gathered their forces and set up the mass service in the places which they entered. The Earl of Warwick went against them, and the rebels fled. The rising in Mary's favour entirely failed, and the rebels were severely punished.

3 The Pope looked on Elizabeth as the great enemy to the Catholic religion, and did all he could to stir up the Catholics in England to rise up against her. Elizabeth excommunicated. In February 1570 he *excommunicated* Elizabeth, that is, he put her outside of the Church. He declared her to be no longer Queen of England, and ordered her subjects not to obey her. No one paid much heed to this, but it set the English people still more against the Pope than they had been before. In 1571 Parliament made laws against the Catholics. It was made high treason to call the queen a heretic or to bring into England any papers from the Pope, and the clergy were made to keep the Church laws more strictly than they had done. England wished to draw all its people more closely together. The more it was threatened by Catholics abroad the more it must strengthen its own Church and make all men obey it.

4 But it was found to be hard to do this. It is true that a great part of the people had agreed to the form of Church teaching and Church services which had been set up at the beginning of the reign. Many men agreed to it for a time because they hoped to change it in the way in which they wanted. The Catholics hoped that it might be brought gradually nearer to their opinions. The Protestants also who had fled abroad in Mary's reign were not content, when they

came back, to find so much of the old services and the old beliefs still kept up. They hoped to get rid of them in time. But both the Catholics and the Puritans, as these extreme Protestants were called, found that their hopes were disappointed. England went farther away from Catholicism, and after Elizabeth's excommunication by the Pope was entirely opposed to it. Similarly the Puritans found that they could not make the changes which they wished. Elizabeth did not want to cut off herself and England from the old Church altogether. The Puritans also were ordered to obey the Act of Uniformity and conduct the services as they were laid down in the Prayer Book. Many of the clergy would not wear the surplice, and gave up their livings rather than do so. In this way Protestant dissenters began to grow up in England.

5 These troubles in England, and the fierce way in which the Kings of Spain and France were trying to put down the Protestants in their kingdoms, ^{Ridolfi's} encouraged the English Catholics to plot ^{plot} against the queen. In 1571 the plan was again set on foot that the Duke of Norfolk should marry Mary Stuart. An Italian banker in England, by name Ridolfi, carried on the plot. He wished to get help from the Pope and the King of Spain, who gave him money and promised to send soldiers, if only Elizabeth were captured by the friends of Norfolk.

The plot, however, was found out by Cecil, and the chief people concerned in it were made prisoners. Norfolk was brought to trial for high treason, and was condemned to death. The Spanish Ambassador was ordered to leave England, and war with Spain seemed likely. But Spain was soon kept busy with other matters. The people of the Netherlands had long been governed harshly by Spain, and the

Revolt of
the Nether-
lands
against
Spain

Protestants amongst them had suffered grievous persecution In 1572 a rebellion against Spain began there, which led in the end to the separation of part of the Netherlands from the power of Spain They formed themselves into the Dutch Republic

6 Just as Elizabeth had managed to get the better of France by giving help to the Scottish lords who rose in arms against their queen, so now she gave help to the rebels in the Netherlands, and thus gave the King of Spain enough to do in his own dominions In this way England kept clear of the war with Spain for some years to come Meanwhile the English seamen did much harm to Spain Men had begun to take more to the sea, and ships put out from Portsmouth which seized the Spanish vessels on their road home from the West Indies Chief amongst these robbers of the sea was Sir John Hawkins, to whom the queen sometimes lent money and whose profits she shared In this way a race of English seamen was being trained up who were full of courage and ready for any adventure Their bravery filled the Spaniards with alarm, and made them rather afraid of England

7 During all these troubles England had at all events been at peace, while all over Europe men were at war English trade had got much good by this Prosperity of England Many workmen had fled from the Low Countries to England, and the English learned from them how to make cloth and silk better than they had done before. They learned also how to dye their cloth at home, for before they had sent much of it to be dyed in Flanders So there was more work for men to do in England, and there was not so much distress amongst the poor as there had been in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary The labourers settled down quietly to the new ways of farming The poor were taken care of

by collections made in the churches. This was a great improvement, as they had been left almost uncared for since the monasteries were pulled down, for in old times the poor used to be fed by the monks. The collection in churches grew in time to be a regular payment or rate, and so the 'Poor Law' grew up, which provided that everyone should pay to support the poor in the district where he lived. Then, as the poor were taken care of, the robbers and thieves who robbed travellers on the roads were gradually put down by the law. In all these ways the English people began to be better off, and so took more interest in the things that were going on. They saw that the Catholic States of Europe wanted to bring England under their power. So men grew to fear and to dislike the Papists in England, and this is what is meant when we say that England became a Protestant country.

8 The Catholic plots in England still went on. In 1577 Philip II's half-brother, Don John of Austria, was Governor of the Netherlands, and made a ^{Catholic plans} plan to invade England, marry Mary Stuart, and rule the land as the King of Spain wished. He could not, however, gather together an army large enough, as his brother did not entirely trust him, and would not help him enough.

9 Then the enemies of England tried to attack her through Ireland, where the English power had always been weakest. The conquest of Ireland in Henry II's reign had not been fully carried ^{Ireland} out, so as to bring law and order into the land. Only in the English Pale, as the counties round Dublin were called, was there anything like order. Outside that the Irish and the English settlers were perpetually at war. The English settlers fell into the ways of the Irish and were as lawless as they. So Ireland was always a trouble

to the English kings. Sometimes they sent forces there and acted vigorously for a while, but they never did so for a long enough time to do any good. The Irish looked on the English as tyrants, and were always ready to rise against them.

10 The Reformation in England had increased the enmity between the Irish and the English. The Irish did not agree with changes in religion which were brought in suddenly from outside. The religious changes in England were taken to Ireland and were carried out by force. But this force was not used very strongly. Elizabeth did not wish to spend much money in Ireland, and so her deputies could do little. The people grew more discontented, and gathered round the chieftains who were most opposed to England. In 1565 there was a rebellion in Ulster under Shan O'Neil, who claimed the Earldom of Tyrone. This rising was put down by Sir Henry Sidney, who wished to have more English sent over to colonise the province of Munster and bring it under English rule. Some English went there, and the Irish rose against them in 1569. There was much fighting before peace was restored, and the Irish began to look to the King of Spain to help them against the English and secure for them the old religion.

11 At last, in 1579, some Irish exiles got troops from the Pope and from Spain and landed in Ireland, where a rising again took place under their powerful Earl of Desmond. It was nearly put down, when the arrival of 800 Spanish and Italian troops again gave it life. They built a fort at Smerwick, in Kerry, where they were attacked by the Deputy, Lord Grey de Wilton. They were taken prisoners and all were put to death in 1580. The English had begun to hate the Spaniards, and showed them no mercy. After this no

more troops were sent, and the rebellion was gradually put down.

12 But meanwhile Philip II had become more powerful, so that he was still more feared in Europe. He claimed in 1580 the kingdom of Portugal, and when he had taken possession of it seemed ^{Power of Philip II.} likely to have more money and troops to carry out his plans. Elizabeth was so much afraid of this that she planned to ally herself with France against Spain. She talked of marrying the younger brother of the King of France, the Duke of Anjou, though he was twenty years younger than herself. But the English people liked France as little as they liked Spain, and the marriage was laid aside.

13 Soon there was danger to England from the side of Scotland once more. A young man, Esme Stuart, who was heir to the earldom of Lennox, and had ^{Scotland, 1572-1582.} been brought up in France among the leaders of the Catholic party, was sent by them to Scotland in 1578. He soon won the confidence of the young king, and did all he could to stir up the old party which had been in favour of France. The Regent, Morton, was brought to trial for having had a share in Darnley's murder, and was put to death in 1581. The French party had got the power into their hands, and were ready, if they could get help from Spain, to invade England. But again the Protestant nobles of Scotland rose to put down the plans laid against them. Headed by the Earl of Gowrie they seized the young king, who had been invited to a hunting-party at the castle of Ruthven. James VI was in the hands of his nobles, and Lennox was ordered to leave Scotland. The Catholic plan to attack England again came to nothing.

14. But in England itself, though there was no open war, a secret war was at this time going on to bring back

the people to the old faith. Men's passions had grown fiercer about religious matters during the long struggle of the last years. Many young men had left England to be educated abroad. A college was built specially for the English Catholics at Douay, which was afterwards removed to Rheims, and in 1579 another college was founded by the Pope in Rome. These young Englishmen were taught by the Jesuits, who were men belonging to a new religious order which had been founded in 1541, to work for the Pope. The Jesuits did everything they could to strengthen the power of the Pope in Europe. they got a great hold over men's minds by their teaching, and as they trained young men to uphold the old beliefs, they were the bitterest enemies Protestantism had yet had to meet.

15 The college at Rome soon sent to England those whom it had trained. In 1580 a company of thirteen priests came to England that they might do what they could to win back men to the old faith. Their leader was Edward Campion, an Englishman. Up to this time the Catholics in England had not refused to go to the new services. they had contented themselves with keeping to the old beliefs in their hearts, while outwardly they obeyed the law. Now these Jesuit priests came to give them back the old services. They travelled through the country in disguise and had secret meetings of the Catholics for worship. The Catholics, being so encouraged, began to refuse to attend the services in the churches. Printing-presses were also secretly set up, and little books were printed in great numbers in defence of the old religion and against the queen and her government. There was set up in England an open opposition to the queen in behalf of the Pope.

16 This led to greater strictness in carrying out the laws which called upon everyone to go to the services laid

down in the Prayer Book. The priests were taken prisoners, and Campion and some others were put to death for treason. It was made high treason for anyone to receive these priests into his house, or to go to their secret services.

Lay against
the Catho-
lics

The Catholics were now quite separated from the Protestants, and were opposed to them. It was hard to see how a Catholic could be looked upon as a loyal subject of the queen when he thought it his duty to obey the Pope, who had declared that Elizabeth was no longer queen. The priests were always looking for help from Spain, and plotted the murder of the queen with the Ambassador of Spain, who was in London. There were the discontented Catholics at home, the friends of Mary Stuart, and the Catholic party throughout Europe generally, who were all joined together to do all they could against Elizabeth.

17 Thus men had now come to hate one another bitterly for their religious differences. They did not shrink from the thought of treacherously killing one another, and the idea of getting a statesman or a sovereign out of the way by murder became quite common. In 1583 a plot was discovered for murdering Elizabeth and setting Mary Stuart on the throne in her place. A Catholic, Francis Throgmorton, was at the bottom of it. He was seized, and afterwards was put to death. Amongst his papers was found a list of those who had taken part in the plot against the queen, and many things which showed that the Spanish Ambassador had known of it.

Throgmor-
ton's plot

18 Elizabeth learned from this how many and great were the dangers which surrounded her and England. The greatest of her enemies was the King of Spain, who had lately been growing more powerful. It was clear to Elizabeth that she could not hope to win over Spain to

her side Her chief ministers had long been urging her to open war with Spain, and it clearly could not be put off much longer In 1584 the Spanish Ambassador was sent out of England because he had taken part in the plots against Elizabeth, and this was a sign to Spain that England meant to resist further attempts

Moreover, the chief men of England drew closer round the queen In 1584 an association was formed for the protection of Elizabeth's life Those who joined it declared that they would pursue to the death all who should try to hurt the queen, and also anyone in whose behalf they did so In this way the plotters were told that if they succeeded in killing Elizabeth, Mary Stuart would at once be put to death as well

Association
to protect
Elizabeth

CHAPTER XI

ENGLAND AND SPAIN

I AFTER seventeen years of peace Elizabeth was at length driven to prepare for war with Spain, before Spain had grown so powerful as to crush her altogether She determined at last to give open help to the Netherlands, who had revolted from Philip II, and who were now hard pressed by him At the end of 1585 the Earl of Leicester was sent with a body of English troops to the Netherlands Elizabeth never hoped that the Netherlands would ho'd their own against Philip's soldiers, and would have been willing to give up their cause if she could have made peace for herself The English troops did little in the Netherlands, as Elizabeth did not send them proper pay, nor allow their general to have much power She still wished to put off war if possible

Help sent to
the Nether
lands

The English in the Netherlands tried to take the city

of Zutphen, and in the siege Sir Philip Sidney was wounded, and soon after died. He was much mourned for all over Europe, as he was a great scholar as well as a brave soldier and a courteous gentleman. As he lay wounded on the field some water was brought to him, but seeing a dying soldier near him he gave it to him, saying, 'Your need is the greater.'

2 The Spaniards were made very angry just at this time by an expedition undertaken by Sir Francis Drake to the West Indies. He took three of their finest cities and coasted along their shores, plundering and laying waste all that he could. Already Drake had sailed round the world (1577-1581) and had done much harm to Spain. He came back to England with his spoils, and the Queen visited him in his ship and knighted him. The Spaniards felt that their trade was not safe and demanded of the king that the seas should be secure for their ships. Philip II felt that to protect the trade of Spain he must put down the power of the English at sea.

Drake in
the Spanish
Main, 1585

3 Though war was being prepared against England, still that did not put an end to the plots which were made there. The priests at Rheims persuaded some young Englishmen to think that the best thing they could do for their religion was to put Elizabeth to death. Another plan was made of killing the queen, freeing Mary from prison, and setting her on the throne by Spanish help. A young man, Anthony Babington, was at the head of this plot, and Mary was told that it was being carried on. She consented to it, and letters passed between her and those engaged in the plan.

Babington's
plot, 1586 ✓

But the plot had been found out, and was used by the Secretary of State, Sir Francis Walsingham, as a means of bringing Mary to her ruin. He contrived by his spies to get hold of Mary's

Mary takes
part in it

letters and make copies both of the letters she got and of the answers she sent. When proof enough had been got against Mary all her papers were seized and she was made a strict prisoner in Fotheringay Castle. The conspirators were caught, tried, and executed, and some of them confessed before being put to death.

4. The proof against Mary was laid before the Privy Council, and it was settled that she should be brought to trial. A commission of peers and lawyers was appointed to try her, according to the provisions of the Act passed in 1585, for having plotted against the queen's life. This commission decided that she came under the power of the Act of Parliament, inasmuch as she was guilty of aiming at the queen's death. Finally, Parliament met and gave its approval to the decision of the commission (November 1586).

5. Still Elizabeth was unwilling to consent to Mary's death. Mary was a queen who had sought her protection, and Elizabeth feared the effect which her death might produce in Europe. Her ministers and the people were very anxious to get Mary out of the way. As long as she lived there would be no end to the plots against the queen. Elizabeth wanted to get rid of Mary without doing so openly. She signed the warrant for Mary's death, and Mary was at once executed at Fotheringay, in February 1587. Elizabeth afterwards declared she never meant the warrant to be used, and tried to throw the blame of her execution on her secretary.

6. Men were glad when Mary was put to death. So long as she lived plots were always being made in her behalf, and the Catholics were always looking forward to her succession. Now that she was dead men hoped there would be greater quiet in the land. If war was to come it would be against a foreign king who was trying to conquer England for himself,

and would no longer be carried on in Mary's name. Philip II was more eager now to invade England, for he could now claim it for himself, and need not fight for Mary. But the other powers of Europe thought that Spain was already too strong, and had no wish to see her made any stronger. Moreover, James VI of Scotland was set against an attempt which would do away with his chance of succeeding to the English crown. So it was that when the great attack of the Spaniards came, England was freer than she had been for many years from foes within and on her borders.

7 Philip II set himself to work to raise a fleet for the invasion of England. It was long before it was ready. In April 1587 Drake sailed into the harbour of Cadiz, destroyed forty of the Spanish ships, and burned a large store of provisions which the Spaniards had got ready for their fleet. It was not till May 1588 that the 'invincible Armada,' as the Spaniards called their fleet of 132 ships, was ready to put to sea. Philip's plan was that his fleet should sail to Dunkirk and there be joined by a force of soldiers from the Netherlands. In this way an army of 50,000 men would be prepared to ravage England.

8 The long delay of the Spaniards was useful to England, where many preparations had to be made. Neither ships nor soldiers were plentiful. The royal navy had only thirty-four ships in readiness, and they were much smaller than the Spanish ships. But the seaport towns got ready their merchantmen, and private gentlemen manned such ships as they could to help their country in her need. On shore also the musters of the counties were called out and drilled. Everyone was anxious to do what he could to drive back Philip. The chief among the Catholics came to serve their country with zeal, for though they wished the old

religion back again they were too true Englishmen to wish to see their country conquered by Philip

9 On Sunday, July 21, the Armada came in sight of the English coast off Plymouth The English Admiral,

The Armada in the Channel Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, did not dare to attack the huge Spanish fleet. He

followed them up the Channel, hanging on their rear and doing them such damage as he could He knew the Channel better than the Spaniards, and in his small and handy vessels could fall upon them and sail away again at his pleasure For a week the Armada sailed slowly up the Channel, and on Saturday, July 27, anchored off Calais, there the Spanish Admiral awaited the coming of the troops from the Netherlands under their great general, Alexander of Parma

10 But the troops from the Netherlands did not come, as they were prevented from sailing by a fleet of Dutch

The Armada dispersed. and English vessels which cruised off the coast On the evening of Sunday, July 28,

the English Admiral resolved to drive the Spanish ships into the open sea, where he could better fight with them Six of the oldest ships were filled with things that burned easily, and were sent flaming against the Spanish fleet The wind carried them on, and the Spaniards, alarmed as they saw them coming, cut their cables and fell into confusion Thus they were driven out of their harbour and had to sail northwards along the Flemish coast The English followed and did much damage by the straightness and swiftness with which they fired their guns, while the Spaniards shot over the English vessels A gale sprung up and the Spanish fleet sailed helplessly northwards, losing ship after ship from the English guns The English followed them as long as they had any shot left. The gale increased in violence, and the Spaniards fled round the north of Scotland, to return home again Many of their ships were wrecked off the Hebrides and

the Irish coast Out of the hundred and thirty-two ships which sailed from Spain only fifty-three returned

11 Thus the attack of Spain on England, which had been so long feared, entirely failed. It was a greater failure than anyone knew at the time Philip II hoped to make another attempt in time, but England freed from fear of Spain. he never found another chance The war of religion passed from England to France, and for the rest of his reign Philip II was busy in helping the Catholic party in France, who were trying to keep Henry IV from being made king, as he was then a Protestant, though he afterwards became a Catholic.

12 Besides this the failure of the Armada made England know how strong she was The great danger which all had gone through drew all Englishmen together Results on England. A national hatred of Spain filled their minds They were ready to do everything they could against Spain Hatred of Spain and Catholicism made England more decidedly Protestant than it had been before The Catholic party no longer plotted against Elizabeth. Many of them joined the national Church, with which Englishmen in general grew more content when they saw how it could keep them united.

13 Englishmen were no longer afraid of being attacked by Spain, but rather were determined to attack it in turn Year by year expeditions were made Naval war with Spain. against the power of Spain in some quarter or another Hatred of Spain went on growing among the English people, and English ships lost no chance of doing all the harm they could to the power of Spain A constant war went on at sea, in which the English were almost always successful, and brought booty home to England. In this wild way English seamanship was growing up, and England was making good her claim to be the mistress of the sea.

It was not the actual loss to Spain in the defeat of

the Armada which made that defeat important. But after that time the English felt themselves a match for the Spaniards, thenceforth they made it their settled purpose to beat down what had hitherto been the chief power in Europe. The attempt to force Catholicism on England from without had failed, and the English people felt more than before that Protestantism was necessary for their national independence.

CHAPTER XII

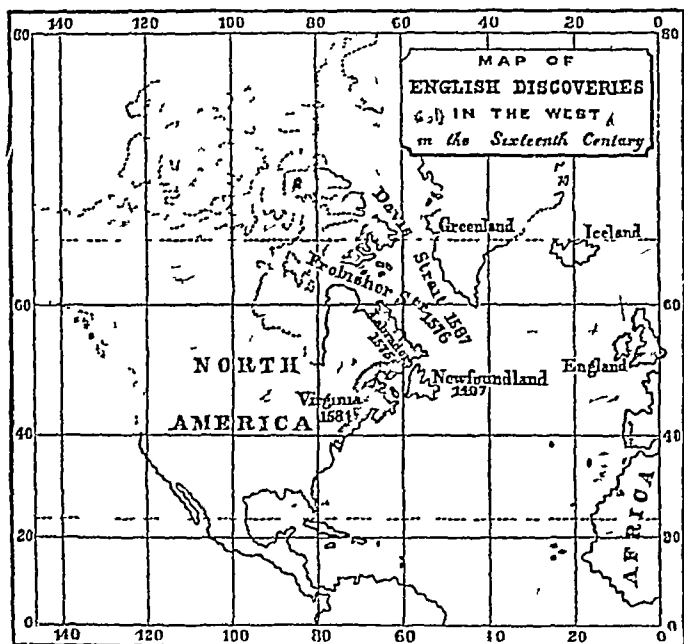
ENGLAND AFTER THE ARMADA

I AFTER the defeat of the Armada England was free from the load of troubles which had seemed to weigh her down for the last thirty years. She was again Spain grows weaker united, and the dread of dangers at home and abroad had passed away. In the hour of peril England found out how united her people really had become, how their differences really disappeared before a threat to their national liberty. At the same time the power of Spain was seen to be overrated, and all those who were resisting Spain plucked up their courage. The war against the power of Spain went on in the Netherlands and in France. The Protestant Netherlands slowly made good their revolt against Philip II, the moderate party in France slowly got the better of the extreme Catholics who were helped by Philip II. Every year after 1588 made England's position stronger and showed that the influence of Spain was growing weaker.

2 So it was that the energies of Englishmen began to show themselves more strongly. They became more and more fond of the sea, because they wanted to

find out new lands in the far-off West, about which so many stories had been told. The fact that the Pope had given to the Spaniards and Portuguese all the lands which might be found out in the New World made expeditions thither seem like

England
grows
stronger



crusades to the Protestant English of Elizabeth's time. This desire to do harm to Spain began to grow into a wish to found colonies in the New World. Sir Walter Raleigh first made a settlement in 1584, to which the name of 'Virginia' was given, in honour of the Virgin Queen. This settlement was not at first successful, though it afterwards flourished. English discoverers

sailed on every side. Much of North America was found out by the English, who were trying to discover a north-west passage to India. In this way English trade and enterprise began to increase very quickly.

3 Besides this the country had grown much richer, and men began to wish for more comfortable homes. The

*Growth of
comfort.*

land had been long free from civil war, so men were not afraid of having their houses pulled down, and began to build better houses than they had had before. Instead of the castles of the feudal barons, which were built to fight out of, there sprang up the country house of the rich gentleman. Many of the finest houses in England were built in Elizabeth's time, and so are said to be built in the Elizabethan style of architecture. Not only were the rich more comfortable but the poor also. Every class of trader and farmer began to grow richer, and so to live better. The very poor were provided for by law in 1601 the Poor Law was settled as it remained till 1832. Workhouses were to be built in every county, and a rate was to be collected by overseers of the poor from all the people, to give the means of living to the poor in their district.

4 But the growth of the people showed itself in other ways besides wealth. At no time in English history were

*Elizabeth's
court.*

there more great men in England than in Elizabeth's reign. Amongst her ministers were many whose names are still remembered for their wisdom, especially William Cecil, Lord Burleigh. His prudence and caution did much for England, and Elizabeth always trusted him above all others so long as he lived. To Elizabeth's court came all the young men who wished to gain honour. Elizabeth was truly the centre of English society, and her court was always splendid.

5 But above all the reign of Elizabeth is famous in our history as being the time when the greatest of English

writers flourished. Men's minds had been stirred by the great events that had been going on, and they had much to think about, and also ^{English} a quiet time to think in. So we cannot wonder that men wrote and read more than they had been used to do. Among the writers of Elizabeth's time the greatest was William Shakespeare, whose plays show us how much men thought and knew in those days. Theatres had now begun to be set up in England, and there were many writers of plays, though none so great as Shakespeare. Another great poet, too, was Edmund Spenser, whose 'Faerie Queen' puts before us the moral virtues in the forms of knights going out to fight against wrong. It would take too long to tell even the names of the other great writers in England at this time, but in almost every kind of writing and every branch of learning there were some men who wrote what will always be read.

CHAPTER XIII

TROUBLES OF ELIZABETH'S LAST YEARS

1 THOUGH England was at last freed from the fear of Spain, which had so long weighed her down, she had still a good deal to disquiet her. There were still difficulties to be settled at home.

The defeat of the Armada had lessened the power of the Catholics in England, but the way in which Elizabeth behaved in Church matters increased the number of the Puritans. She was more than ever ^{Religious} resolved to have a Church in England which ^{discord} should be neither Popish nor Puritan. The Court of High Commission, which had entire power in church matters, tried and punished those who would not carry out the worship of God as it was set down in the Prayer

Book Elizabeth chose bishops who were opposed to the Puritans, and an attempt was made to put them down by force. It was not, however, successful, and was a source of discord in England, which grew more and more, as there were many on the side of the Puritans.

2 More than this, there were two parties among Elizabeth's ministers and friends. Many of her old ministers died soon after the defeat of the Armada, and younger men became powerful with the queen. Burleigh and the older men who had seen all the growth of the struggle with Spain wished to bring that struggle to an end and to make peace with Spain. On the other hand, the younger men wished to carry on the war against Spain, as they wanted to have chances of doing great things and winning great names for themselves. Chief amongst these was Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, of whom the queen was very fond. These two parties were always struggling to get the upper hand in the Queen's Council.

3 In 1596 Essex had his own way and sailed against Cadiz, which was sacked, and the ships in its harbour were all destroyed. Next year (1597) Essex went to cut off the Spanish fleet which was bringing back treasure from the Indies. He did not, however, succeed, and this was the last great expedition made against Spain, for in 1598 Philip II died, and was succeeded by his son, Philip IV., who was not fitted to do much for himself, and was in the hands of a peaceful minister. In the same year also Lord Burleigh died, and Essex, who had hoped that he would be the queen's adviser, found that she listened more willingly to the counsels of Burleigh's son, Robert Cecil, who gave her the same sort of advice as his father had given. The quarrels in the Queen's Council became more bitter than they had been before.

4. There was also a serious rising of the nation in Ireland, where men hoped to get help from Spain and from the Pope Hugh O'Neil, who had been faithful to England in the last revolt and had been made Earl of Tyrone as a reward, was at the head of this new rising. At first he was successful, and in April 1598 defeated the English on the river Blackwater, not far from Armagh. It was felt in England that no time must be lost in putting down the rebels. Troops were sent over, in 1599, under Essex, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The enemies of Essex were glad to have him out of England, and as he had wished that war should be carried on against Spain, he could not refuse to take the command when it was offered to him.

5 But Essex, when he reached Ireland, did not march against Tyrone at once. Instead of going to Ulster, which was Tyrone's stronghold, he wasted his strength in small expeditions in Munster and Leinster. When he did march north his troops were worn out and refused to fight. Instead of fighting with Tyrone he made peace with him, granting him very favourable terms. Then he left Ireland and crossed over to England, that he might persuade Elizabeth to agree to what he had done. He hoped that the queen's fondness for him was strong enough to lead her to agree to anything that he might propose.

6 So in September 1599 Essex hastily came back to England and went at once to the queen. At first she received him with kindness, but when she thought of what he had done she became very angry with him. He was kept in custody, and his doings were examined by the Queen's Council. He had all his offices taken away from him, and was bidden to keep himself a prisoner in his own house. He was suspected of wishing to get the government into his own

hands and to raise up a party in Ireland in his own favour

7 For a time Essex lived quietly, but at last he resolved to try and get his power back again. He was so popular that he thought men would do anything he wished. In February 1601 he assembled at his house some of his friends in arms. Some of the queen's ministers who went to ask the reason were made prisoners. Essex marched with his followers through the City, hoping that the people would take up arms in his behalf. In this he was entirely mistaken: no one moved to support him. He had to flee to his own house before the royal troops, and was made prisoner. He was brought to trial, and was found guilty of high treason.

8 Essex wished to frighten the queen by showing her how strong he was. He had many of the Puritans and the soldier class on his side. He thought that they would rise, and by their rising force the queen to take him back into her favour and afterwards do what he wished. But the English people held by the laws, and those who were on the side of Essex still would not help him to break the laws. Now that he was condemned to death the queen could not save him. Though she was fond of him still he had been guilty in the same way as had Mary Stuart, and if one had not been spared, neither could the other be. Essex was executed in February 1601.

9 Meanwhile Lord Mountjoy succeeded Essex in Ireland, and made Tyrone submit, though troops were sent from Spain to help him. Tyrone laid down his arms on condition that his lands should be left him, and there was peace again in Ireland just after the queen's death.

10 The last years of Elizabeth were saddened by the death of Essex, which grieved her very much. The

people had loved him and were sorry for his death. The queen was now old, and saw around her a younger generation, which had grown up in the peace which Elizabeth had won for them, and did not now agree with her and her ways of looking at things. She saw herself growing less popular, and Parliament was growing bolder in its dealings with her.

Elizabeth
unpopular
at last.

11 Little has been said about Parliament under the Tudor kings, because Parliament was not so important as the Crown and its ministers. The royal power had grown greater under the Tudors, and the great things that were happening in

Parliament
under the
Tudors

England made it needful that there should be one head. Henry VII had been busy in bringing back peace after the Wars of the Roses and putting down the power of the nobles. Henry VIII separated England from the Papacy. Under Edward VI the Reformation of the Church was vigorously carried on. Mary found the people disgusted with this, and tried to bring back the old faith. Elizabeth had worked hard to bring back religious peace, and had strengthened the nation to stand out against the power of Spain. Each of these rulers had a very hard task to do; each of them had the greater part of their people on the r side in doing it. So it was that they were trusted by their people and by their Parliaments. Their Parliaments were almost always ready to help them to do what they and the people wanted to have done.

So, though Parliament seemed to obey the sovereign, we must remember that one great reason of this was, that Parliament trusted him. Moreover, the breaking away from the Church of Rome and the setting up of new things in the English Church made the Parliament really stronger. In all this the crown had to fall back upon the Parliament and do all that it wanted to do by

means of Acts of Parliament, for no king would have dared to set aside the Pope simply by his own will. Really during all this Tudor period we may say that Parliament mostly did what the crown wished, but that the crown recognised more fully than had been done before the authority of Parliament.

12 It is worth noticing that all these Tudor sovereigns lost the love of the people at the end of their reigns, and

that Parliament seemed to be on the point of quarrelling with them when they died. Henry

VII was so disliked for his heavy taxation

that Henry VIII found it wise to put his ministers to death. Henry VIII had grown so oppressive that many men looked eagerly for his death. The doings of the Reformers under Edward VI were so unpopular that Mary's changes were received with joy. Mary in time grew to be so hated for her persecutions that a rebellion was near when she died. Now too Elizabeth, when she had done the great work which lay before her at the beginning of her reign, was no longer as much loved by her people as before, and Parliament began to interfere with her doings.

13 The expenses of the Irish war gave Parliament in 1601 a chance of objecting to one of the queen's ways

of raising money. She used to reward her courtiers and favourites by giving them *monopolies* of certain articles—that is, letting them

alone have the right to sell some one article, so that they could ask for it any price they chose. An Act was brought before Parliament to do away with these. But Elizabeth knew how to give way. She sent a message saying that all grants which were against the law should at once be done away with. The Commons sent to thank her, and she answered that she had no thought in her heart except for the good of her people. It was a boast

in which there was much truth Elizabeth was always most careful of her country's good, and the welfare of England was closely bound up with her own

14 There is nothing else to tell in Elizabeth's reign The queen grew gloomy and sad as she grew older She seems to have felt herself friendless in her old age and knew that everyone was thinking about her successor She died in March 1603, in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-sixth of her reign

The years that we have gone through were most important for England, in them she first of all took up the position which she still holds amongst the other nations of Europe Henry VII gave peace and order at home and set England in a strong and independent position as regarded foreign states Henry VIII set the land free from the power of the Pope and made the Church in England English only Elizabeth made sure for her country what her father and grandfather had begun She beat back Rome and Spain alike and set the power and freedom of England on a firm and safe foundation Meanwhile, the English people rose with their higher position Everything that we are most proud of as a nation sprung up more strongly in Elizabeth's reign English courage, bravery, and adventure were known all over Europe English seamanship became famous Colonies were sent out to far-off lands Trade flourished, and riches and comfort increased Above all, high and noble thoughts filled men's hearts, and led them to write lovely and noble works in verse and prose. An eager desire for knowledge filled all men's minds England had grown fit to do greater things than she had ever done before.

THE TUDORS AND STUARTS

Henry VII, 1485-1509

Henry VIII, 1509-1547

Margaret = James IV, King of Scots

Edward VI,
1547-1553

Mary,
1553-1559

Elizabeth,
1559-1603

James V, King of Scots

Mary, Queen of Scots =
Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley

JAMES I of England, 1603-1625 = Anne of Denmark.
(VI, of Scotland)

CHARLES I, 1625-1649 = Henrietta Maria
of France

Elizabeth = Frederick V, Elector
Palatine

CHARLES II, 1660-1685 =
Catherine of Braganza

Mary = William
Prince of Orange

Anne Hyde = JAMES II = Mary of
1685-1688 Modena

Rupert

Sophia = Ernest,
Electress of
Hanover

William III = Mary
1689-1702

Anne,
1702-1714

George I,
1714-1727

BOOK V.

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THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

INTRODUCTION

A GREAT question was fought out in England while the Stuarts reigned. It was this: was the chief power in the country to be the power of the king or the power of the Parliament, in other words, were the English to be a self-governed people or were they to be governed according to the will of one man?

The Tudors had ruled during a century of change and danger, when it was needful that the king should have much power in his hand, so that order might prevail at home and foreign princes be kept from meddling in English affairs. But when the fear of foreign foes was past, and the king did things which the people did not want to see done, they were not willing to let him have so much power as the Tudor kings had had. The points which we shall have especially to notice in reading this book are—

(1) How the Stuarts made use of the powers which

the Tudors had left them to act against the wishes of the people

(2) How the Parliament tried to force the Stuarts to carry out the wishes of the people

(3) How the Stuarts tried to free themselves from the control of Parliament

(4) How the struggle between king and Parliament was at last brought to an end by the gift of the crown to a prince who was willing to do the things which the Parliament wished to be done

CHAPTER I

PURITANS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS

1 GREAT changes have come over England since 1603, when James I became king. Ideas which are now nearly as common as the air we breathe were then new and rare, or even unknown. Thus people now think that each man must be left to worship God after his own fashion. Then people thought that all men, who obeyed the same king, must worship God after the same fashion. The Act of Uniformity, passed by Parliament in 1559, had ordered that the services laid down in the Prayer Book should be held in every church in England. No other services might be held even in a room with closed doors.

2 Though all Protestants had separated from the old Church, they had not all taken up the same religious beliefs. In England there were men called Puritans, who wished to make the service of the Church of England more unlike the service of the Church of Rome than the reformers of the reign of Edward VI had left it. They complained that forms and ceremonies were still in

use which were not according to the Bible. Thus there were many clergymen who did not like to make the sign of the cross when they baptized a child, or to wear a surplice during the church services.

Queen Elizabeth did not wish for any more changes, and so chose archbishops and bishops to govern the Church of England who were no friends to the Puritans. They thought that the Church services needed no change and that the Puritans were making an outcry about trifles. They therefore turned out of their livings ministers who did not use the ceremonies laid down in the Prayer Book.

The people, as a body, liked the services of their Church. Still they wished that something should be done to content the Puritans. It was not easy to find enough good and able men to be parish ministers, and as the ministers who held with the Puritans were usually very able and zealous, it seemed a great pity that they should lose their livings because they did not like to wear a surplice. When James came to the throne men hoped that he would let laws be made by Parliament ordering (1) that ministers should not be turned out of their livings for not using all the ceremonies laid down in the Prayer Book, and (2) that every parish should have a good and able man as minister.

3 James was already king of Scotland when he came to the English throne. He was son of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, whom Elizabeth beheaded, and great-grandson of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII. James I
Scotland and England were thus brought together under the rule of one king, but each country still had its own Parliament, its own Church, and its own laws.

4. James was thirty-six years old. He had read a good deal, could talk well, and often said witty things much to the point. James and the Puritans
But he had two great faults which prevented his being a wise king. He

was cowardly and he was selfish. He always thought, not of what was best for his people, but of what was best for himself, and so he often made great mistakes and did a great deal of harm. This was the case in his dealings with the Puritan clergy, of whom, as it happened, he was afraid. The reformers in Scotland had done away with those ceremonies with which the English Puritans found fault. They had done more. They had also done away with bishops, and set up a Church which was governed by assemblies of ministers and elders. These elders were sometimes called *presbyters*, from a Greek word meaning elder, and hence the Church they helped to govern was called the Presbyterian Church. Now the archbishops and bishops, who governed the English Church, were appointed by the king, and so were men whom the king could trust to carry out his wishes. But the elders and ministers, who governed the Church of Scotland, had their power from the people, and had often gone against the king's wishes. James, therefore, now fancied that the Puritan ministers in England were wishing to do away with bishops and to get power into their own hands. So although he let the questions in dispute between the bishops and the Puritans be talked over in his presence at Hampton Court, at the end he made no such changes as would satisfy the Puritans, and even told the bishops to be stricter with them than before. Nor when Parliament met, in 1604, would he let the members meddle in any way in Church matters. But Parliament was not content with what the king had done, and this question of the treatment of Puritans became one of the questions about which the king and his Parliaments could not agree.

5 Though the Parliament wished to do something for the Puritans, it had no mercy on men who still clung to the old Church. Not only was the Catholic faith held to be harmful to the minds of men, but Catholics themselves

were looked upon as bad subjects. Some had plotted against Elizabeth's life and government, others had joined the new Catholic order of Jesuits and gone about the country in disguise, stirring up Catholics to keep firm to their faith. These Jesuits were much feared, for they were thought to be the friends of the Pope and of the Catholic king of Spain. Thus it had come about that, while Elizabeth reigned, one law after another had been made against Catholics. Catholics who stayed away from church were heavily fined, those who hid priests in their houses were cast into prison. Many Jesuits and priests were put to death as traitors because they would not deny that the Pope had a right to meddle in England in matters which concerned religion.

6 Whether these laws were always fully carried out depended much on the will of the king. The Parliament and the king together made laws, but it was the king and his officers who put them in force. When James became king he did not wish to deal harshly with Catholics. He knew that though some had plotted against Elizabeth, yet that the greater number had been true to her, and he thought that, if he showed them mercy, Catholics would be obedient subjects to himself. But he had not reigned long when a plot was discovered which made the Parliament wish more than before to see the king always put the laws in force. A band of desperate men formed a plan of blowing up Parliament House on November 5, 1605, when Parliament was to be opened in state by the king. With this purpose they hired a cellar under the Houses of Parliament, which they filled with barrels of gunpowder hidden under bundles of faggots. James' ministers found out something about the plot, and on the evening of November 4, Guido, or Guy, Fawkes was taken with a lantern in his hand,

keeping watch and ward amongst the faggots Though there were only some fifteen conspirators, yet all English Catholics suffered because of their crime For harsher laws were passed against Catholics, and James for some years to come put the laws in force

CHAPTER II

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE TREATY

1 JAMES was not always a wise king, but in one thing he was wiser than his neighbours He was not fond of war, and wished that Catholic and Protestant States could learn to live in peace England and Spain were at war when he came to the throne, but he very soon made peace between them Afterwards, in the year 1614, he wanted to marry the Prince of Wales to the Infanta Maria, a daughter of Philip III, the king of Spain He thought that England and Spain, if they acted together as friends, would be able to prevent wars from breaking out on the Continent between Catholics and Protestants This scheme seemed to James very clever, but it was really a great mistake For Philip III, king of Spain, was the head of the Catholic princes, and he only cared to let the marriage be talked about in the hope of getting James to agree not to put the laws in force against English Catholics Still, as time went on, James did not find this out, but only set his heart more and more on bringing this match about

2 Rather than run the chance of quarrelling with the king of Spain, James did an act which brought on him the scorn of his subjects While Elizabeth reigned Sir Walter Raleigh had won himself a great name as courtier, traveller, coloniser, and historian But shortly after her death, he was mixed up in some

The Spanish Match.

Sir Walter Raleigh.

plot against James, and though there was little to show that he had done anything wrong, he was sentenced to die as a traitor (1603) James, however, did not cause Raleigh to be put to death, but kept him a prisoner in the Tower

3 After thirteen years had gone by Raleigh, who was weary of his long imprisonment, let it come to the king's ear that near the river Orinoco in Guiana there was a mine which, if worked, might yield rich store of gold James was poor and much in debt, and the thought of being the owner of a gold-mine was very pleasant to him So he let Raleigh sail in command of a fleet of thirteen vessels to seek the mine, but told him that he was on no account to fight the Spaniards But it was not easy to avoid fighting the Spaniards, for they claimed the West India Islands and all the continent of South America as their own, and whenever the vessels of other nations came to make discoveries or trade with the Indians, they attacked them and murdered their crews Raleigh knew this, but he knew James too, and he thought that if only he brought back gold he should be forgiven, even though he had fought the Spaniards When his fleet reached the Orinoco, Raleigh sent a party of explorers up the country to seek for the mine He could not go himself, for he had fallen very ill, but, along with others, he placed in command his son Walter, and Keymis, a trusted friend, and he bade them not to fight the Spaniards unless in self-defence Now the Spaniards had built a village, called St Thomas, on the Orinoco, made of stakes covered with leaves of trees They knew the English were coming, so they laid an ambush and fell upon their camp by night The English fought bravely, and drove the Spaniards back, and took possession of their village But young Walter Raleigh was killed in the fight Then Keymis led a

Raleigh's
expedition
to Guiana,
1617

party yet farther up the Orinoco in search for the mine. But the Spaniards and Indians waylaid them and killed many. So Keymis' heart failed him, and he went back to St Thomas, and all the English returned to their commander and their fleet. But first they set fire to the village, for they wished to be revenged on the Spaniards. When this tale was told to Raleigh, he reproached Keymis with bitter words, because he had not found out the mine and brought back gold to show the king. Then Keymis, in despair, for he saw that ruin had befallen both himself and his master, went into his cabin and stabbed himself to the heart. But Raleigh came back to England, and the sentence of death which had been passed against him fifteen years ago was carried out and he was beheaded on the scaffold. And this James did to please the king of Spain. (1618)

4 Soon a war broke out between the Catholics and Protestants on the Continent, and the worth of this alliance with Spain, for which the king had just given Raleigh's head, was put to the test. The war was called the Thirty Years' War from the length of time which it lasted (1618-1648). James's daughter, Elizabeth, had married, in 1613, Frederic, the Prince of the Palatinate, one of the states of the Empire, lying along the Upper Rhine. This prince was the Protestant leader who was most concerned in the war. For the people of Bohemia, wishing a Protestant to reign over them, had chosen him for their king instead of their former king, Ferdinand, who was a Catholic. But Ferdinand, who was also Archduke of Austria and Emperor, raised large armies and drove Frederic first out of Bohemia and afterwards out of the Palatinate also. Philip of Spain was related to Ferdinand. James, therefore, wished Philip to get Ferdinand to make peace with the Protestants and give the Palatinate back to

Frederic Philip made fair promises, but all the time his own armies were fighting on the side of the Catholics. Meanwhile men in England complained bitterly of their king's fondness for Spain. They would have liked James to fight Spain and marry the Prince to a Protestant lady, for they thought that a marriage with a Catholic and a Spaniard would bring their country into many dangers. The Parliament, therefore, through dislike of the match, became very eager that James should put the laws in force against Catholics, whilst James, lest he should make Philip angry, would not do so.

CHAPTER III

THE KING AND THE PARLIAMENT

1 We have found the king and the Parliament holding different opinions on three important questions (1) the treatment of Puritans, (2) the treatment of Catholics, (3) the Spanish Marriage Treaty. Powers of
the king
When the king and the Parliament disagreed one or the other must give way. It was a question which would be stronger. Let us see what powers each held.

The power of the king was then much greater than it is now. Queen Victoria only chooses as her ministers men whom the Parliament is willing to support. The ministers, thus chosen, carry on the government as the House of Commons wishes, though in the name of the queen. Parliament meets every year, and every year the ministers have to obtain the support of the representatives of the people to their acts.

James I chose his ministers solely to please himself. He expected them to carry out his wishes without heeding the wishes of the Parliament. He never thought of

explaining his acts to his Parliament, nor did he call together a Parliament every year, but only when it seemed good to himself

2 But though James had a great deal of power, the nation had rights and liberties to set against the powers of the crown (1) The king could make no laws without consent of Parliament (2) He could take no taxes without consent of Parliament (3) He was bound to act according to the law, for instance, he could not put a subject into prison except according to due course of law From this right of the people not to be taxed without their own consent it followed that the House of Commons was able to control the king's actions The king had not money enough of his own to pay for the expenses of his court and government, so when he wanted more money, as was often the case, he had to call a Parliament and ask for a grant Then the Parliament, before giving him money, could ask him to do something which they wanted to have done

3 In the times of the Plantagenets the House of Lords had far more power than the House of Commons But

Position of the king and the Commons it was the House of Commons which now took the first place For the members, who were generally merchants and country gentlemen, now more than equalled the nobles in wealth, knowledge and influence It was quite natural, therefore, that the gentlemen who sat in the House of Commons should form opinions of their own on affairs of state, and like to tell the king if they thought he was going wrong But it was also natural that the king should think himself wiser than the Commons, and dislike to have his actions talked about If the king and the Commons, therefore, were to work together, it was needful that they should trust one another, and have the same ideas of what were the right things to do in dealing with the great questions of their day

We have seen that James did not act according to the wishes of the Commons. He thus began a struggle which was to last for more than eighty years. The Stuart kings, one after another, all tried to free themselves from the control of Parliament. Parliament, acting on its side with the support of the nation, strove to maintain its position, and force the king to submit his wishes to its wishes. It is the course of this struggle between king and Parliament which we shall have to follow.

4 The Commons used to beg James to set right what they thought amiss in his government, and when they did not get an answer they liked, gave him no money. James thought them very rude for meddling. He wished to have as few meetings of Parliament as possible, so he began in one way and another to take his subjects' money without first asking their consent. Though in defence of his conduct he could say that Elizabeth had sometimes done the same thing, yet the people were not willing that he should do as she had done. For they had trusted Elizabeth, and knew that she spent their money well. They did not, however, trust James, and each time Parliament met, it became more than ever discontented with him.

James and
his Parlia-
ments.

5 Sir Francis Bacon, who was a very learned man, was one of James' ministers. He often gave the king good advice. But James did not follow good advice, he believed in his own wisdom and went his own way, or else chose unworthy men to help him by their counsel. The one of these favourites who got most power was George Villiers, a young man whose handsome face and pleasant manner first caught the king's fancy (1615). Very soon James could refuse him nothing. Many offices and honours were given him, as well as the title of Duke of Buckingham.

James
favourites

✓

6 Under the rule of these favourites, drunkenness, bribery, and vice of all kinds was common at James

court. Bacon himself, in spite of his learning, gave way to the same ill deeds as those around him. He was Lord Chancellor, and sat as judge in the Court of Impeachment of Bacon Chancery. In 1621 the House of Commons impeached him, that is, accused him before the House of Lords for having taken gifts from persons over whose cases he had to sit as judge. The House of Lords found him guilty of bribery and corruption, and sentenced him to pay a large fine and never to hold office again. Very likely Bacon did not look on these presents as bribes, and did not give sentences in favour of those who made him gifts. But it was a wrong thing for a judge to take gifts at all. Bacon's own remark was 'I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years, but it was the justest sentence in Parliament that was these two hundred years'.

In the trial of Bacon the House of Commons acted the part of accuser, the House of Lords the part of judge. Two hundred years ago there had been like cases of impeachment. It was a great thing that this old practice was again brought into use, for it opened a way by which the Commons were able to force the king's ministers to answer to Parliament for what they did.

CHAPTER IV

BUCKINGHAM'S WAR POLICY

1 BUCKINGHAM lived with the king, and with Charles, the Prince of Wales, as with familiar friends. They called one another by nicknames, Buckingham being

'Steenie,' the Prince of Wales 'Baby Charles,' the king himself their 'dear Dad and Gossip' In 1623, when the terms of the Spanish marriage treaty were nearly agreed on, 'Steenie' and 'Baby Charles' got James' leave and went to Spain in disguise, meaning to bring back with them the bride about whom there had been so much talk for the past eight years Philip IV, at that time king of Spain, received them very graciously, but the wooing did not turn out well in the end The Infanta did not like Charles because he was a Protestant Once when he jumped over a wall into a garden where she was walking, the young lady screamed and ran away Moreover the Spanish ministers did not care to bring the match about, unless England was to be made a Catholic country They now angered Charles by saying that the Infanta must stay in Spain a year after the marriage, as a pledge that James would get rid of the laws against English Catholics At the same time they would not do what Charles wanted of them, and fight the Emperor in order to win back the Palatinate for Frederic, James' Protestant son-in-law So Charles and Buckingham came back to England in an angry temper, forced James, to his sorrow, to break off the treaty, and threatened Spain with war

Spanish
match
broken off

2 Buckingham was bold, ambitious, and very sure that he could do all he wished to do, but he was ignorant, headstrong, and not very clever He was now really the ruler of England Charles was ready to follow him wherever he led the way, and if James went against his wishes he scolded until the old man yielded So Buckingham thought he could do what he chose, and he made many great plans He wanted to form alliances with France, Denmark, and

Plans of
Buckingham.

6/

Holland, punish Spain, send armies into Germany, and get back the Palatinate for James' son-in-law

3 Parliament met in February 1624 The Commons wished the king to make war on Spain by sea, so they gave him a grant of money It was however understood that the money was not to be used for sending armies into Germany, but for fitting out a fleet They also got a solemn promise from James and Charles that if the Prince should marry a Catholic, nothing should be said in the marriage treaty about the English Catholics These promises were not kept An army was raised and sent across the Channel to march through Holland into Germany About the same time James and Charles agreed that the laws against the English Catholics should not be put into force, and on these terms Charles in 1625 married Henrietta Maria, sister of Lewis XIII, king of France

4 In March 1625 James I died, and Charles I came to the throne Charles very speedily dissolved his two first Parliaments, for he found that the Commons would not give him money The Commons refused because they had no trust in Buckingham Not only had he led the king to break his word, but all his undertakings turned out ill The soldiers sent to Holland died of cold and hunger A fleet sent against Spain sailed into the harbour of Cadiz, but afterwards came back without having fought an enemy, on the voyage home the soldiers and sailors died by hundreds through the bad food which had been given them (1625)

5 In spite of this ill success, Buckingham was very sure that he should win in the end, and Charles gave way to him, so neither of them thought of making peace because the Parliament would not give money They had not broken their word to the Com-

Last Parlia-
ment of
James I

First parlia-
ments of
Charles I

War with
France

mons without a reason When they promised Lewis XIII not to put the laws in force against Catholics, they had thought that he would aid them in the war in Germany, but now, as Lewis had not given them the aid they hoped for, they were bold enough to find causes of quarrel with him and to go to war with France (1626)

CHAPTER V

THE PETITION OF RIGHT

I THAT he might be able to carry on this new war, Charles tried to raise large sums of money without consent of Parliament He did so under pretence of a loan, though there was no chance that the lenders would ever get their money back again The tax was called a forced loan, for men who refused to lend the king money were thrown into prison Now as there were Acts of Parliament forbidding the king to take his subjects' money at his pleasure, so there were Acts of Parliament forbidding him to shut his subjects up in prison at his pleasure The Great Charter, granted by King John, had said that no freeman should be sent to prison save by the law of the land When therefore, any person was sent to prison, a warrant stating his offence was given to his gaoler The prisoner or his friends could then ask the judges of the Court of King's Bench for a writ of *Habeas Corpus* These words, meaning 'produce the body,' were the first words of the writ, which was simply an order to the gaoler bidding him bring his prisoner and the warrant before the Court Then the judges, after they had seen what offence was named in the warrant, would either send the prisoner back to prison, there to await the

The writ
of *Habeas*
Corpus ✓

time of his trial, or set him at liberty, if he gave surety to come and answer to his charge at the time of trial. If the prisoner was sent back to prison, he could ask the judges to name a day for his trial, so that he could not be kept shut up for a very long time.

2 Five gentlemen whom Charles sent to prison for refusing to pay the loan money got a writ of *Habeas Corpus*,

Imprisonment without cause given	and so came before the Court of King's Bench. The judges looked at the warrant brought by the gaoler, and found that they were sent to prison by the king's order, but that no cause was given. What then were the judges to do? As no reason was set down on the warrant, they could not tell whether they ought to set the prisoners at liberty or send them back to prison. What was even worse, the prisoners could not get any day named for their trial.
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The lawyers who pleaded for the prisoners said that, since no cause of imprisonment was given, they ought to be set at liberty, otherwise the king might keep them shut up in prison till the day of their death. This, they said, was contrary to the Great Charter, and did away with the liberties of Englishmen. The court was crowded with listeners, who clapped their hands and shouted applause when they heard the lawyers say things like this.

But the lawyers who pleaded on Charles' side said that kings of England had often sent men to prison without giving any reason, and that what former kings had done, Charles might also do. It was true that former kings had done so, and in times of danger when there were fears of plots, as at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, it might be needful to imprison men without giving a reason. But this now seemed an unlawful thing for Charles to do, because it was not men who were plotting against him whom he shut up, but good subjects who refused to give him money to which he had no right.

The Judges, however, did not set the five gentlemen at liberty, but sent them back to prison, for they were afraid of angering the King.

3 Buckingham sailed with a large fleet in 1627 to the west coast of France, and landed on the island of Rhé, but after staying a few months on the island he had to sail home again, because he was short of supplies, and had lost many of his men

Expedition
to the Isle
of Rhe

4. Buckingham had persuaded the Protestant town of La Rochelle, lying on the mainland opposite the Island of Rhé, to take part with the English. Charles felt in honour bound to help this town, which was now being closely besieged by Lewis. So, in hope of getting a grant of money, he first let out of prison the refusers of the loan money, and afterwards called his third Parliament (1628). The Commons had many things to complain of, but these three things above all others — the forced loan, the imprisonments without cause given, the refusal of the judges to set the prisoners at liberty. One of the chief men in the house was Sir John Eliot, and he spoke out like a man for the liberties of Englishmen. ‘Upon this dispute,’ he said, ‘not alone our lands and goods are engaged, but all that we call ours. These rights, these privileges, which made our fathers freemen, are in question. If they be not the more carefully preserved, they will, I fear, render us less free, less worthy than our fathers.’ Sir Thomas Wentworth was also a chief man in the house, and a good speaker. He wanted, however, to get a great name and power for himself, and he cared less about the liberties of England than Eliot. As he did not like the wars with France and Spain, he now spoke against the unlawful means by which Charles had got together money to carry them on. ‘What is it,’ he said, ‘that we have to make sure? New

Charles’
third Par-
liament
1628

things? No, our ancient, sober, and vital liberties, by strengthening the laws of our ancestors, by setting such a stamp upon them that no lawless spirit shall dare hereafter to invade them'

5 The Commons after listening to words like these drew up a new law. It was called a Petition of Right,
 ✓ The Petition of Right. and was meant not to get them new liberties, but to be a guard round the old. This petition asked the king to say —

(1) That no freeman should have to pay any loan, tax, or such-like charge without common consent by Act of Parliament

(2) That no freeman should be sent to prison without a cause being shown

The House of Lords agreed to the petition, and Charles gave it the royal assent. In return the Parliament gave him a grant of money, and the Session was afterwards brought to an end.

6 In August, 1628, Buckingham was about to sail with a fleet to Rochelle, when a man named Felton stabbed him to the heart. For this murder
 Murder of Puck- Felton was tried and hanged, but the people
 ham. rejoiced at the duke's death, and looked on Felton as a martyr

The fleet sailed, but could not make its way into the harbour of Rochelle, so, after thousands had died of hunger, the city surrendered to Lewis. Besides the Rochellese, others also who had looked to Charles and Buckingham for help found that they could do nothing. The King of Denmark had been promised a large sum of money to help him in making war against the Catholics in Germany, but no money was sent, and he was beaten in war.

After Buckingham's death Charles made peace, first with France in 1629, and then with Spain in 1630.

CHAPTER VI

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT IN 1629

1 **THOUGH** the Petition of Right had been passed, and though Buckingham was dead, yet the king and the Commons could not agree better than they had done before. They began to dispute ^{Customs Duties} about the meaning of the Petition of Right. Charles did not intend to give up the exercise of any power to which he could get his lawyers and the judges to say that he had a right. The Commons intended to make use of the power to give or withhold money in order to force Charles to pay heed to their wishes. Thus when Charles required the Commons to give him a grant for life of the customs duties, or taxes laid on goods sent out or brought into the country, the Commons refused because they wished him to govern the Church in the way that they approved. Then Charles, who wished to govern the Church in his own way, maintained that, as customs duties had not been mentioned by name in the petition, he still had a right to take these duties without consent of Parliament.

2 There was a second question about which the king and the Commons could not agree. It was a very important one. We saw that when James came to the throne he persecuted Puritans, and would not let the Parliament make laws to set right what ^{High Churchmen and Calvinists} they thought amiss in the Church. Since that time new differences had arisen between the bishops and the Commons. At first they had only disagreed about the treatment of Puritans. Afterwards they began to disagree about matters of religious belief. The English prayer-book had much in it which was the same as the service book of the old Church, it had also many things which

were put in it at the time of the Reformation. During the last thirty years new teachers had arisen in England, who seemed to wish to look only at those things in the prayer-book which were like the old service book, and so were like the beliefs held by the Church of Rome. They seemed to wish to pass over all the changes that had been made and hold them to be but small. Most Englishmen thought that the changes made at the Reformation were great and important changes, and they did not like these new teachers. But the king listened to them gladly, and made some of them bishops, so that they had great power over the Church. These new teachers we should now call High-churchmen. Those who were against them were then called Calvinists, because they held the beliefs of the reformer Calvin, who in the last century had set up a Protestant Church at Geneva.

It was thought to be part of the duty of the Government to put down all false doctrine. No books might be published except such as got the leave of the king's ministers. The High churchmen, therefore, wished that the king should forbid the Calvinists to teach and preach, while the Calvinists wished that the king should forbid the High-churchmen to teach and preach.

Charles would have done well if he had not taken the side of either of these two parties, but he was drawn to the side of the High-churchmen. In all the disputes which had arisen between himself and the Commons they had taken his part, trying to set up the royal power and pull down the power of Parliaments. Kings, they said, were given their power by God, subjects, therefore, ought to obey their prince's commands, even though they were contrary to Acts of Parliament. It was partly because the High-churchmen said things like this in books and sermons that the Commons wished so much to put them to silence, for they believed that those men were

most true to their king who obeyed the laws and would not pay unlawful taxes

3 Shortly before Parliament met again in 1629, Charles published a declaration which still stands in the Prayer-book, in front of the Articles. In this he said that henceforth no man, whether High-^{The King's declaration ✓} churchman or Calvinist, was to preach or write on doctrines about which men did not agree. Perhaps Charles thought this was fair to both parties, but it was not really so. The men who would judge what was right to preach and what was not were the bishops. These were High-churchmen who would be on the side of those who preached what they themselves believed.

4. So, when Parliament met again, the discord was greater than ever. The Commons called on the king to forbid the High-churchmen to preach and write, and leave their own friends, the Calvinists, at liberty to preach and write what they pleased. They also said that the Petition of Right had been broken because the customs-duties were taken without consent of Parliament. One day the Speaker, who was the king's friend, wanted to leave the house rather than let the members pass a vote against the taking of customs-duties not granted by Parliament. Two members held him down by force in his chair, while a third called out, 'that they were traitors who should bring in changes in religion, or who should take or pay customs-duties not granted by Parliament.' 'Aye, aye,' members shouted on all sides, and then left the House amidst noise and confusion. After this Charles dissolved the Parliament, and made up his mind not to call another for a long time to come. ^{Dissolution of Parliament ✓}

CHAPTER VII

LAUD AND THE PURITANS

1 CHARLES I was a loving husband and father, and lived very happily with his wife and children. He was fond of collecting pictures, statues, and other works of art. Of books he knew quite as much as most gentlemen of his time. He was very attentive to business. But though Charles was neither ignorant, nor lazy, nor stupid, he would never make a good king. He kept too much to his own opinions, and would not listen to others nor trust them. He did not care about being liked by his subjects. His chief care was to make himself obeyed. He knew that Elizabeth had ruled very much as she liked and he meant to do the same. He quite forgot that Elizabeth had sought the good-will of her subjects, who obeyed her because she did what they wanted to be done.

2 The minister whom Charles trusted to govern the Church was Laud, Bishop of London, who, in 1633, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud was the leader of the High-church party, whom the Commons had wished to put to silence. He was a little man, very active, and very earnest, but without pity for those who did not think as he did or do as he told them. He had a good deal of learning, and was willing to let learned men hold opinions of their own, but he despised the people too much to think that they could judge for themselves what was true or false in religion. Laud also was in favour of forms and ceremonies. He did not like that each man should do what was right in his own eyes. All must do alike. Each minister must bow his head when he read the name of Jesus. None must take the sacrament sitting, as many men then did, but each

man on his knees Ministers and congregations must be encouraged to adorn their churches with painted windows, images, and crosses, to set up altars and perform ceremonies for long unknown in Protestant England

3 The Calvinists thought very differently from Laud They thought that even unlearned people were capable of distinguishing true from false doctrine, and that it was for the welfare of their souls to understand and hold the doctrine which Calvin taught They disliked ceremonies, and would as soon have worshipped in a barn as in a cathedral God, they said, did not live in temples made with hands His temple was the heart of the worshipper They did not care about order, nor could the service be too simple to please them

The views
of the
Calvinists

4 It became common to call all persons Puritans who did not like the changes which Laud and his friends were bringing in Many more people, therefore, were now called Puritans than in the time of James I They were of all classes—gentlemen, farmers, and artisans They were remarkable for living a serious and quiet life, setting their faces against the fashionable vices of their day—drinking, swearing, and gambling Amongst the Puritans were found men who held very strict notions of the kind of life they ought to lead They saw sin and vice mixed up with the amusements and pleasures of the world, so they called all pleasures and amusements sinful They dressed in plain black clothes, and cut their hair short, to mark themselves distinct from the men of the world, who dressed gaily in velvets, and lace, and satin They went too far in what they thought they ought to do, and judged other men too hardly, but they were quite honest, and ready to suffer much rather than do anything which they thought wrong

Calvinists
called Puritans.

We have seen what different opinions Laud and the

Puritans held The Puritans looked on Laud as little else than a Papist in disguise. Laud looked on the Puritans as men who disturbed the peace of the Church. After he became Archbishop his power over the Church was very great, and he set to work to model churches, services, ministers and worshippers all after his own plan.

5 Laud had means by which he was able to force the Puritans to do as he wished. The Act of Supremacy, passed in 1558, made Queen Elizabeth chief ruler of the Church of England in place of the Pope. It also gave her power to set up commissioners for the punishment of those who separated from the Church. These commissioners formed what was called the Court of High Commission. They now turned out of his living the minister who preached on forbidden doctrines or refused to bow when he read the name of Jesus. The hymn who kept his hat on in church or would not take the sacrament on his knees, they fined or perhaps put in prison. Another court punished more severely than the High Commission. It was called the Star Chamber, because the walls of the room at Westminster in which it sat were painted with stars. This court had been set up in the reign of Henry VII to try men who were too powerful to be brought to trial in the other courts. Its powers were now turned against the Puritans or any others who, by anything they said, did, or wrote, displeased the king and his ministers. The judges were the king's ministers, Laud himself being one of them. Men were fined by the Star Chamber, or put in prison, or whipped through the streets, or branded with hot irons, or their ears were cut off. When these sentences were carried out, the people, who thought the sufferers were in the right, and felt great pity for them, would stain handkerchiefs in their blood as in the blood of martyrs.

J
Courts of
High Com-
mission
and Star
Chamber

6 When the Puritans saw what strange ceremonies were brought into the services of the English Church, and how the king no longer called Parliaments together, they thought that the Catholic faith would be set up in England, and that the old liberties of Englishmen would be taken away by the king. Thousands sailed across the Atlantic to the coast of North America. There they settled in a land which they called 'New England,' where they governed themselves and worshipped God in their own way.

Puritans in
New Eng-
land.

CHAPTER VIII

SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH

1 BESIDES Laud, Charles had another councillor whom he trusted. This was Sir Thomas Wentworth, whom Charles in 1628 created Lord Wentworth, and some years later Earl of Strafford. Wentworth was a tall, dark man, with a commanding voice and manner. He had joined with Eliot in getting the king to give his consent to the Petition of Right, because he thought Buckingham ruled very badly. But since Buckingham's death he had himself become a minister of the king, and now his chief desire was to make Charles powerful in all things, and free him from his subjects' control. Wentworth had a great belief in himself and in his own wisdom, and looked down upon the members of the House of Commons, thinking that if the king always had to follow their wishes, the country would never be well or wisely ruled. As to Parliaments, Wentworth did not wish to do away with them, they might in a humble manner lay their wishes before the king, but they were not to make their grants of money depend on getting

Sir Thomas
Wentworth.

what they wanted. Until the gentlemen of England should have learned to obey, Wentworth did not counsel Charles to call a Parliament together.

2 Now Wentworth was proud and would have his own way, and he did many harsh and unjust acts in carrying out his ends. So he was soon much hated by the people. Neither was he liked by his fellow ministers or by the courtiers. For he set his face against those who wasted the king's money and left the king poor while they themselves grew rich. Wentworth, however, did not stay long in England. In 1633 he went to Ireland to rule that country as Lord Deputy. There it was more easy for him to get men to yield to him than in England, for the native population of Irish Catholics and the Protestants, who had settled in Ireland, hated one another, and did not wish for the same things, so that they could not act together as Englishmen did. Moreover in Ireland Wentworth acted as king in place of Charles, and thus had more power in his hands than in England. He did not let his officers take the king's money. He kept strict order throughout the country, and did not let the rich man wrong the poor man. He even called a Parliament and got a grant of money. But the people, though they could not resist the deputy, yet hated him. For he broke his faith with the Parliament, ill-treated those who offended him, and cared not how unjustly or harshly he acted, so long as he made all men obey his will.

3 While Wentworth was trying to make the power of the king greater than it had ever been before, Eliot was standing up for the cause of the Parliament. Eliot and some of his friends were accused by Charles of having caused a riot in the House of Commons on the day when the Speaker was held down in his chair. The judges said that they must pay fines and stay in prison so long as it should please the king. One by one, as they

owned their fault and prayed for pardon, Charles let them be set at liberty. But Eliot would not give way. A future Parliament alone, he said, could judge whether anything he had said or done had been to blame. The judges had no right to meddle in the matter, for if members could be brought to punishment by the king for what they said or did within Parliament House they would be afraid to say what they really thought. Then Parliaments would soon cease to be free, and would be no longer able to oppose the king, if he ruled contrary to the laws and liberties of the country.

After Eliot had been a prisoner in the Tower about three years (1629–1632) he fell very ill, and sent to the king asking to be set at liberty until he got back his health. But Charles chose that the man who would not give way should die, and not long afterwards Eliot died in the Tower (1632).

CHAPTER IX

SHIP MONEY AND THE TRIAL OF HAMPDEN

I AS CHARLES had no money with which to build ships to protect the coasts, French and Flemish pirates did much harm to trade, while those from Algiers, in Africa, used yearly to carry off hundreds of fishermen as slaves. Charles wished to put an end to this state of things. He was also thinking of joining Spain in making war on France. His difficulty was to get money for raising a navy, without calling a parliament. In times of danger, as for instance when the Armada sailed against England, the sovereign had called on the port towns to send vessels for defence of the kingdom. Charles thought he could not do better than follow this example (1634).

Afterwards he went farther and did what former kings had not done. Every year he made every county of England and Wales give him money, called ship money, for raising a navy, for guard of the seas.

2 Men paid the new tax very unwillingly, because there was no real or sudden danger which made it needful for the king to take money without first asking leave of Parliament. One of those who would not pay was John Hampden, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire. The case
 v Trial of Hampden between him and the king was tried before the twelve judges at Westminster. Two of them said boldly that many Acts of Parliament, and, above all, the Petition of Right, had taken away from the king the power of raising taxes without consent of Parliament. But others said that Acts of Parliament could not bind the king, and that, therefore, when he thought it needful, he might take taxes at his pleasure. As seven judges were for the king and only five for Hampden, ship money was thus declared to be a lawful tax (1638).

3 The king had always had rights and powers of his own, which lawyers called his royal prerogative. But
 The prerogative set above the law until now the right to set aside Acts of Parliament, whenever he thought it needful to do so, had not been counted one of them. No one would have said so in the days of Elizabeth. The notion had grown up by degrees, under the rule of James and Charles. The High-churchmen said that kings had their power from God, and that their power was above Acts of Parliament, just as divine things are above human things. Lawyers, who looked to the king to give them places, said the same kind of things in courts of law, and thus at last the judges laid it down as part of the law that no Acts of Parliament could bind the king. Henceforth, therefore, Charles could set aside the laws if he thought it needful.

The people saw clearly that this view of the judges put an end to their liberties, and would not pay it any respect. The judges, they said, had explained the law wrongly, and given false judgment to please the king. There was much reason in what the people said. Charles had the power of placing judges in office and turning them out of office at his pleasure. He had set up as judges men who held his own views, and the people did not trust them.

4 We have seen that England was discontented, we have seen also that Ireland was discontented. We must now look at Scotland and see what was passing there. Laud tried to change the Church of Scotland and make it like the Church of England. This aroused much discontent amongst the Scots, who disapproved of Church government by bishops, and looked on many of the ceremonies in use in the English Church as superstitious. On the day when a prayer-book, like the English prayer book, was ordered to be read in all churches in Scotland, a riot broke out in Edinburgh (1637). Soon the whole country rose against the changes, and the people began to arm to force the king to give way to their wishes. If Charles had had plenty of money, and even a small standing army, he might have put down the Scots. But he had no money, while his soldiers were only peasants and artisans who were pressed into his service. These looked on the Scots as friends, for, like them, they hated Laud. They killed their officers if they thought them to be Catholics, and ran away by hundreds. In the spring of 1640, Charles called a Parliament, and dissolved it in three weeks, because it would not give him money at once. The same year the Scots crossed the border and marched into Yorkshire. Charles was there with an army, but it was an army of unwilling soldiers who did not care to fight. The Scots and the English knew that

their cause was one, so they both began to call on the king to summon a Parliament in England. Charles had to give way, and in November, 1640, the Long Parliament met.

CHAPTER X

THE TRIAL OF STRAFFORD

1 THE Long Parliament is one of the most celebrated of all Parliaments which have ever met in England. It was the turning point of Charles' reign. Up to this time he had been growing stronger, but this Parliament broke the king's power, so that it was never again what it had been before, and from this time forward no king could set aside the laws as Charles had done.

2 After the rebellion broke out in Scotland, Wentworth came back to England, and Charles made him Earl of Strafford. Strafford knew that his friends were few and his foes many, so he thought that it would be better if he stayed away from London at the opening of Parliament. But Charles did not like to be without his minister's help. He therefore bade Strafford come, saying that 'as he was king of England, the Parliament should not touch a hair of his head.' So Strafford came to stand by his master and help him to keep the members of the Parliament in due awe. But the members very well knew that they had no enemy so able and so dangerous as Strafford. On the day after he

1/ Impeachment of Strafford

came to London the House of Commons went in a body to the House of Lords, and there impeached him of high treason. His trial in Westminster Hall lasted many days. The members of the House of Lords were there as judges, and the members of the Commons as accusers. The king and queen sat apart in a little gallery with a curtain in front of it, but the king with his own hand tore down the curtain that he might the better hear and see what passed beneath.

Strafford was accused of having tried to destroy the laws and liberties of his country, and of having been an enemy to Parliaments, and having done many things contrary to the law both in Ireland and in England, and for these offences he was charged with high treason. Strafford defended himself very ably, but it was not possible that he should defend himself so as to satisfy his accusers. They had no pity for him. For he had been Charles' chief adviser while Charles ruled without Parliaments, and while many cruel and unjust acts were done in Charles' name. For this the Commons wished to put him to death, that others might learn not to do like him.

3 It was a difficult thing to prove that the offences of which Strafford was accused were high treason according to the law of the land. To ensure his death the Commons passed a bill through their Bill of
Attainder ✓ House which condemned him to die as a traitor. They thought that the Lords would be more ready thus to cause Strafford to die as an enemy to his country than to declare in their capacity of judges that his offences were high treason. Such bills, condemning men to die, were called Bills of *Attainder*, because every traitor or felon, against whom sentence of death was pronounced, was said to be attainted, or stained. The Lords, after hearing all that could be said in Strafford's defence, passed

the Bill of Attainder against him. The king's consent was still needful to make the bill law. Charles felt that he would be doing an evil deed if he took part in Strafford's death, for he believed that in all things Strafford had served him well and faithfully. But he was in great fear and misery, and knew not what to do. An angry crowd gathered round the palace at Whitehall, shouting for justice on traitors. His wife, frightened at the noise, pressed him to pass the bill. His councillors told him it was his duty to please his Parliament. There came a letter to him from Strafford himself, bidding him no longer delay to make his peace with his people. 'Sire,' it said, 'my consent shall more acquit you herein to God than all the world can do beside. To a willing man there is no injury done.' So Charles gave his consent to the bill, but when this was told to Strafford he exclaimed, 'Put not your trust in princes nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation.' He was beheaded the next day (1641).

4. The Parliament wished to take from Charles the means of ever ruling again as he had ruled while Strafford was his minister. They therefore got him to consent to many new laws, of which these were the chief —

(1) The Triennial Act, requiring that a new Parliament should meet at least once every three years, and that if the king did not call a Parliament together, still the members should be elected, and the Parliament meet all the same.

(2) An act forbidding the king to take customs duties without consent of Parliament.

(3) An act saying that the raising of ship money was contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom and the Petition of Right, and that the judgment given in Hampden's case was against the law.

(4) An act doing away with the Court of Star Chamber.

(5) An act doing away with the Court of High Commission

5 Laud, like Strafford, was impeached of high treason, and, though not brought to trial, was kept a prisoner in the Tower. His work was undone, as far as Puritans in might be. Forms and ceremonies in public power worship were again neglected, crucifixes, images, and other ornaments were torn down from churches and often broken to pieces. Nor did the desire of change stop merely at undoing what Laud had done. The bishops had made such a harsh use of their power, that many Puritans now wished to do away with bishops altogether, and to set up in their stead assemblies of ministers and elders to rule the Church. These Presbyterians were very numerous in London and other towns, and many members of Parliament were on their side. Still it was very doubtful whether they would be able to get what they wanted, for there were many who thought that enough had been done, and did not wish for further change.

CHAPTER XI

THE GRAND REVONSIPANCE, AND IMPEACHMENT OF THE FIVE MEMBERS

1 IF Charles kept the new laws faithfully, he could never rule again as he had ruled before. He would have to meet Parliament regularly. He would have to get money only with the consent of the House of Commons. There would be no High Commission and no Star Chamber to put down men who found fault with what he did. In short Charles would have to rule as the House of Commons wished.

Charles, though he had passed the new laws, did not

mean to follow the wishes of the House of Commons. He might perhaps keep the laws until they stood in his way, then he would find some means of setting them aside, just as he had set aside the Petition of Right. His wish in the first place was to get rid of the present Parliament. He could not dissolve it at his own will. At the time of Strafford's trial he had agreed to a plan to bring up armed men to London, who would set Strafford free and keep the Parliament in order. This plan had become known to the Parliament, which got Charles to consent to a law, saying that this Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. Charles was now at a loss how to get the Parliament to dissolve itself. Sometimes he thought of making the leaders of the Commons his ministers, in the hope that they would help him to bring about a dissolution, but when he found that, even if he made them his ministers, they yet would never obey his will, he made up his mind to accuse them of treason. For when its leaders were in prison, or dead, he hoped to be able easily to rid himself of the Parliament, and get again all the power which he had lost.

2 John Pym was looked up to as the chief leader of the House of Commons. He had sat in many Parliaments, and was now more than fifty years old.

✓ John Pym. He had a strong head and a strong body, and could work, if needful, all the day and half the night as well. He spoke well, so that men listened eagerly to his words and believed in them. In time of danger he was never frightened, but always saw the best course to take and how best to calm the fears of others.

Pym knew well that dangers were soon to come, for, though he could not tell exactly what the king's plans were, he felt sure that by force or fraud Charles would undo all that Parliament had done, unless some way were found to prevent him. So Pym wished that councillors,

judges, and all officers of state should be set up by the Parliament and not by the king. Then these would be men whom the Parliament could trust, and though they would still rule in the name of the king they would follow the wishes of the House of Commons.

3. A party friendly to the king was forming both in the Parliament and amongst the people. Some men thought that Charles would keep faithfully the laws which he had passed, whilst others were against the changes which the Presbyterians wanted to make in the Church. All these stood together in opposing Pym.

A Royalist
party

4. In the summer of 1641 Charles went to Scotland and gave the Scots all they asked for, thinking that when Scotland was quiet and content he should better be able to carry out his plans in England. While he was still away, terrible tidings came from Ireland. The Irish Catholics had risen in arms and killed the Protestant settlers—men, women, and children. Many men in England thought that Charles had been seeking friends in Ireland amongst the Catholics, and had had a hand in this rising, so now they were more fearful of trusting him than before.

Rebellion
in Ireland

5. Pym sought a way of telling the nation that no faith could be placed in Charles. A long remonstrance, called the Grand Remonstrance, was brought into the House of Commons. This drew a black picture of Charles' government since he first came to the throne. Then it told of the good laws which the Parliament had made, and said that henceforth the king's ministers must be men in whom the Parliament could trust. There was much talk in the House of Commons between the friends of Charles and the followers of Pym about the passing of this remonstrance. Parliament used then to sit only in the day-time, but they talked about

The Grand
Remonstrance ✓

the remonstrance till past midnight. When at last the remonstrance was passed, a member asked that it should be printed, and thus put into the hands of the people. The king's friends answered him angrily, words ran very high, and sword hilts were handled. Hampden spoke a few words which calmed the tumult, and the House broke up for that time (November, 1641), but afterwards the remonstrance was printed, and the people were thus told that the Commons had no trust in the king.

6 Charles came back to London in November. One of his first acts was to take away a guard of London citizens, which during his absence the Commons had stationed round the doors of the Houses of Parliament. There afterwards gathered round him at Whitehall some five hundred gentlemen as a guard to his person. The Commons, fearing that some violence was intended against themselves, asked the king to let them have their guard back again. Charles refused, but told them that their safety was as much his care as the safety of his children. The same day the king's law officer, the Attorney-General, came into the House of Lords, and impeached of high treason one member of the Lords and five members of the Commons, including Pym and Hampden. Lords and Commons alike refused to give up the accused members. The next morning there was a stir and bustle at Whitehall, where the king's guard were arming and collecting together, for the king was about to march to the House of Commons and take the five members out by force. The queen urged him on. 'Go, coward,' said she, 'pull those rogues out by the ears!' A friend brought the tidings in haste to the Commons, and the five members left their seats and fled to the city of London, just a few minutes before Charles came. Charles left his guard at the door, walked up the House, and asked Lenthall, the Speaker of the House,

Impeach
ment of the
five mem-
bers.

where the accused members were Lenthall fell on his knees, and said, 'May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to command me' The king first looked round the House, and then said, 'Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I expect from you that you shall send them unto me as soon as they return hither, otherwise I must take my own course to find them' He then left the House, and went back to Whitehall with his guard (January, 1642)

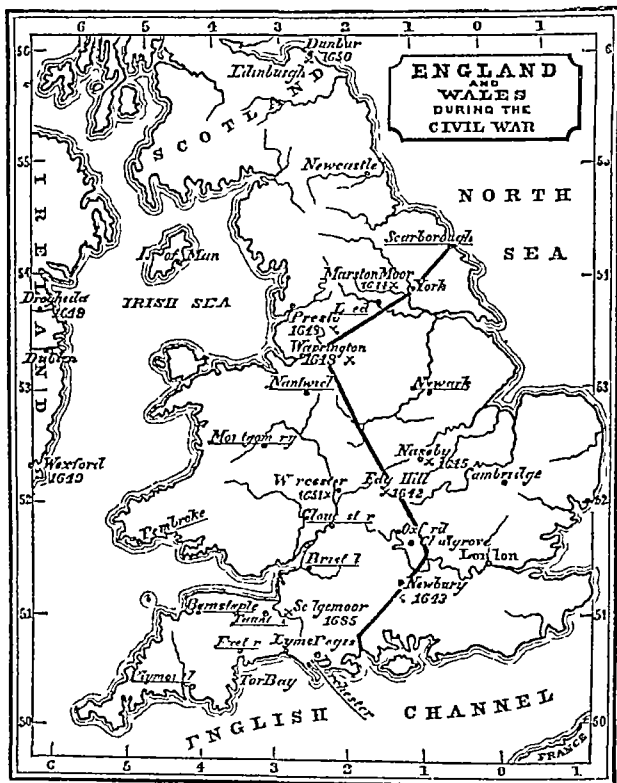
CHAPTER XII

THE CIVIL WAR (1642-1646)

1 AFTER the failure of his attempt to seize the five members Charles left London, meaning to get rid of the Parliament by force of arms Though there was no standing army in England, every county had its militia, which could be called out in times of danger The officers of this force were set up by the king Pym and his friends had no longer any faith whatever in Charles, so, to take from him the means of doing harm, they asked that Parliament should henceforth set up the officers of the militia and all ministers of state Charles refused, and war began between the king and the Parliament in the summer of 1642 Those joined the king who thought that the Parliament was unfairly trying to get power into its hands Those joined the Parliament who would no longer trust Charles Friends of the bishops were on the king's side, Presbyterians on the side of the Parliament The citizens of London were Presbyterians, and firm friends to the Parliament. This was very important, because London was by far the largest and wealthiest city in England, and was able to

Royalists
and Parlia-
mentarians

find plenty of money with which to pay the Parliament's armies. Noblemen generally fought for the king, farmers and artisans for the Parliament. The king made Oxford



his head-quarters. In the west of England men were mostly on the king's side, in the east, they were mostly on the side of the Parliament.

The line across the map divides the country which

was for the king from the country which was for the Parliament. In those counties through which the line runs there was a great deal of fighting, as well as in Devon, Somerset, and Wiltshire, where the Parliament had garrisons in many towns. The first pitched battle was fought at Edgehill, in Warwickshire (October, 1642). Both sides claimed a victory. In 1643 the Royalists gained many successes. This was in great part owing to the dash and daring of their horsemen. These were country gentlemen and their sons, who took a pride in their horses, their arms, and the cause for which they fought. The people called them 'Cavaliers'. Their leader was Prince Rupert, Charles' nephew, the son of that Prince Frederic of the Palatinate, who had taken the crown of Bohemia and been beaten in war by the emperor. The Parliament's horse-soldiers were not so good, for they were mostly shopkeepers who were not used to riding, or farmers mounted on horses fresh from the plough, which took fright at the sound of a pistol shot. The Parliament's troops were nicknamed 'Roundheads,' perhaps because they wore their hair short, while the Cavaliers wore theirs long.

2 In the spring of 1643 the Parliament held all the towns in the west of England which have a line under them in the map. But during the summer and autumn Charles took most of these, besides Newark and other places on the Parliament's side of the line, so that men thought that he would be able to march on London. Gloucester, however, still held out bravely, and while Charles was besieging it, the Parliament got an army together and sent it into the west under the Earl of Essex. Essex raised the siege of Gloucester, and afterwards met and fought Charles at Newbury, in Berkshire, and so stopped his way to London. Meanwhile Pym was persuading the Scots to join the side of the Parliament.

Solemn
League and
Covenant. ✓

The Scots wished to see a Presbyterian Church like their own set up in England. They therefore agreed to send an army to fight against the king, on condition that the three Churches in England, Ireland, and Scotland, should have the same prayer-book, and be governed in the same way. This treaty was called the Solemn League and Covenant.

3 Pym died in December, 1643, a little before the Scottish army came into England. Hampden, who was a colonel in the Parliamentary army, had died a few months earlier of a wound received in a skirmish fought at Chalgrove, not far from his own home at the village of Hampden, in Buckinghamshire.

4. When the war first broke out those members of Parliament who did not wish to do away with bishops took the king's side and left London. After they were gone the Presbyterians had much more power in Parliament than before. They wanted to set up assemblies of ministers and elders in place of bishops. They wanted further to force everyone to think as they did about religion, to worship as they did, and to obey their Church Assemblies. If they could have had their own way, they would have shown themselves quite as much bent on making others do as they did as Laud had been, and perhaps as cruel. The old archbishop got no mercy from them. After being kept a prisoner for four years he was put to death as a traitor.

5 As it happened, however, it was not easy for the Presbyterians to have everything their own way. For there was a party amongst their own friends who did not care about setting up a Presbyterian Church in England, and the longer the war lasted the stronger this party grew. They were called Independents. They said that each separate congregation

ought to be left to worship as it pleased, and to settle its own affairs by itself, without being meddled with either by bishops, or assemblies of elders, or any other power whatever. The Independents were often called *Sectarians* because they were divided into *sects*, each sect holding some special doctrine of its own. Thus there were the Anabaptists who did not baptize infants, and the Quakers who thought it wrong to take oaths. Now, what we have to notice more especially about these Independents and Sectarians is that they had got a real idea of *toleration*, that is, of letting other men hold their own opinions instead of trying to force everyone else to think and do as they thought and did themselves. Thus they said to the Presbyterians: have your Presbyterian Church if you will, only keep it to yourselves, and leave us free to worship as we will and teach our own doctrines.

As far back as the time of Elizabeth Sectarians had been heard of. But then they had been few in number, poor, and looked down upon. Now, in these times of war and change, many men became Sectarians. Artisans in those towns where wool—then the chief article of manufacture in England—was woven into cloth were Sectarians. So, too, were small farmers, who owned land of their own, of whom there were then many in England. These Sectarians were not like other folk, they were more earnest men, and lived even more serious lives than did the Puritans, whom we have spoken about before. They knew their Bibles almost by heart, and often preached themselves, for they made no difference between ministers and laymen.

6 The leader of the Independents in the House of Commons was Oliver Cromwell, a gentleman of Cambridgeshire. Cromwell always had his heart set on what he was about, and wished to do his work as well as possible. Pym's plan of bringing the war to an end was to call

in the Scots, but Cromwell had another plan of his own.

Your troops,' he said one day to his cousin, John Hamp-

den, 'are most of them old, decayed serving-

men, and rapiers, and such kind of fellows,

do you think that the spirits of such base and

mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen

that have honour and courage in them? You must get

men of a spirit, and take it not ill what I say—I know

you will not—of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gen-

tlemen will go, or else you will be beaten still' Crom-

well's home was in the eastern counties, where there were

many manufacturing towns, and where small farmers

were more in number than in other parts of England

So he set about to find the men he wanted amongst Sec-

tarians, and his horse soldiers were soon known as the

best troops in the army They were called the Ironsides

At first Cromwell was only a captain, but in 1644 he was

made lieutenant general of a new army, which he had

mainly raised himself in the eastern counties We have

next to see what this army did

7 There was a great battle fought late one July evening,

in the year 1644, on Marston Moor, a few miles west of

York The Scottish army was there, and

Cromwell's army, besides other forces of the

Parliament The Royalist right wing was led

by Prince Rupert On every battle-field up to this time

his Cavaliers had scattered the Parliament's horse before

them Opposite to Rupert was set the army from the

eastern counties and a body of Scottish horse It was

seven o'clock before the armies joined battle Rupert at

the head of a body of Cavaliers charged Cromwell's own

troop of three hundred horse A shot grazed Cromwell's

neck 'A miss is as good as a mile,' he cried, and press-

ing on broke through the ranks of the enemy Soon

Rupert's whole wing, horse and foot, was in full flight,

Cromwell
and the
Ironsides

Battle of
Marston
Moor

and the Ironsides hard in chase of the Cavaliers After a space Cromwell called his men together, turned back, and fell on the Royalist centre and left wing in the rear These had been beating back the centre and right wing of the Parliament's army, but now, with foes in front and behind, they were broken, routed, and cut down in their flight all the way to York This was a great victory, for it destroyed a large army of the king's, and brought all the north country under the power of the Parliament.

8 A few months after this battle was fought a great thing was done at London Parliament now thought it good that the Earl of Essex and other Presbyterian generals should make way for more able and active men Henceforth there was to be but one army Sir Thomas Fairfax, a friend of Cromwell, was made by Parliament commander-in chief He was a spirited and honourable gentleman, loved by his soldiers Cromwell himself was lieutenant-general From this time the army became the army of the Independents All drunken, lazy, plundering soldiers were turned away, and the ranks were filled with Sectarians, who fought to win for themselves the right to worship in their own way

The New
Model
army ✓

9 In June, 1645, this New Model army, as it was called, met the Royalists, led by Charles, near Naseby, a village in Northamptonshire In both armies the horse were on the wings and the foot soldiers drawn up in the centre Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, who were on the right of Charles' army, beat back the enemy's horse that was set against them, and then, as was their wont, rode off the field, chasing the fugitives or looking after plunder Meanwhile, on the other side of the battle-field, Cromwell and the Ironsides, having first routed Charles' left wing of horse, turned and fell upon

Battle of
Naseby ✓

the flank of his centre. Up to this time the foot soldiers on neither side had given way. But now the king's men, charged by the enemy in front and flank, were at last broken and turned to flight. Rupert came back only to see his friends beaten. 'Face about once,' Charles cried, 'give one charge more and recover the day,' but he could no longer get his men to rally, and so had to join the flight. After this battle the war was soon brought to an end, for many Royalists were killed and many taken prisoners, and Charles could never again get a large army together. Fairfax led his troops into the west, and forced one Royalist garrison to surrender after another. Charles, rather than give himself up to the Parliament, sought a refuge with the Scottish army (April, 1646).

CHAPTER XIII

THE ARMY AND THE PARLIAMENT

1 CHARLES had been fairly beaten, still he had no thought of giving way and consenting to rule on his enemies' terms. He would not agree to let the Parliament set up officers of the militia and ministers of state. He would not promise the Presbyterians to set up a Presbyterian Church in England, he would not promise the soldiers to let Sectarians have freedom to worship in their own way. His plan was to spend time talking over terms, meanwhile to stir up the dislike which the Presbyterians felt to the Independents, to get them to fight one another, and while they fought he hoped that he should get back all he had lost.

2 When the Scots found that Charles would not agree to set up a Presbyterian Church in England, they gave him

up to the English Parliament, and went back to their own country (January, 1647) Many months went by, while the Parliament and the army officers and the king talked over terms Possibly, if

Second civil
war

Charles had been honest, some agreement might have been come to But all the time he was really wishing to get the two parties to fight one another More than once the citizens of London and the soldiers nearly came to blows At last Charles managed to call in the Scots The Scots were angry because the Independents had got so much power in England. They therefore agreed to bring an army into England to fight for Charles, and Charles in return promised them that he would set up a Presbyterian Church in England for three years, and would not let Sectarians worship in their own way

The Scots marched into England in the spring of 1648, and the English Royalists rose at the same time But this new war did not last many months Cromwell gave the Scots two great defeats at Preston and Warrington in Lancashire (August, 1648) Fairfax put down the Royalists

The soldiers came back to London bent on putting Charles to death, for they thought that he was a bad, deceitful man, and that so long as he lived he would be always plotting to get back his lost power and stirring up new wars Kings, they said, had their power from the people, if they used it ill the people could take it away from them, and punish them for their evil deeds

3 In the Parliament the Presbyterians were more in number than the Independents and other friends of the army They still looked on Charles as their lawful king, whose throne and life were sacred, and were horrified at the thought of putting him to death The soldiers, however, meant to put out of the House of Commons those who would not do as they

Pride's
purge

wanted, for they desired to act not in their own name, but in the name of the Parliament. An officer, Colonel Pride, set soldiers at the door of the Commons House, and roughly turned away about a hundred Presbyterians. These days were henceforth known as the days of Pride's purge. Some fifty-three members only were left, who named 135 persons to form a high court of justice, and try the king as guilty of treason.

4 The trial from first to last had only a form of justice, by which the soldiers hid from themselves the violence of what they were doing. They might just as well have shot Charles without giving him any trial, as have turned a hundred members out of the House of Commons. When Charles came before the court, Westminster Hall was thronged with people weeping and praying for him. He would not speak a word in his own defence, saying truly enough that the court had no right to try him in the name of the people of England, because the people of England had not set it up. Some of the friends of the army would sooner have seen Charles put away from being king, than put to death. Of the 135 members of the court, only sixty-three were there. Cromwell was one of them, but Fairfax stayed away. When his name was called, a woman's voice—it was his wife's—called out, 'He is not here and never will be, you do wrong to name him.' Charles was beheaded on a scaffold built in the open street, outside the palace of Whitehall (Jan 1649). He met his death very calmly and quietly, for he believed that he died in a good cause, and that he had been right even in practising deceit to get back his crown. It was just that practice of deceit, however, which made the soldiers put him to death. The people pitied the fate of their king, and from the moment of his death forgave the things that he had done which once had angered them.

The king's
trial and
death

CHAPTER XIV

THE COMMONWEALTH

1 THE House of Lords had refused to take any part in the proceedings that led to the trial of the king. The Commons, therefore, had declared that their House had the power of making laws by itself and afterwards set up the High Court of Justice in its own name alone. The fifty or sixty members who after Pride's Purge were all who still sat in the House of Commons, had thus in fact made themselves sole rulers of the country. Shortly after the king's death they did away in form with monarchy and also with the House of Lords, and called the government a Commonwealth. They had many enemies. In England, as well as in Ireland and Scotland, men grieved that the king had been put to death, and would now have liked to place on the throne his eldest son, a second Charles, who had fled to the Continent for safety. He could not be set up in England as king, for the army would have no king. But in Ireland Protestants and Catholics joined together in sending for Prince Charles to come amongst them. While he was still on his way, Cromwell went to Ireland with an army. He took by storm the two towns of Drogheda and Wexford, and slew all the fighting men who were in them. After this he got the greater part of Ireland under his power and then came back to England (May, 1650). Charles had changed his mind when he heard what was being done in Ireland, and had gone instead to Scotland, where the Scots took him to be their king. Fairfax did not care to fight the Scots, so Cromwell was made general in his place. He marched into Scotland, and in the autumn gained a great victory near Dunbar (September, 1650). The next year Charles marched into England, leaving Crom-

Conquest of
Ireland and
Scotland.

well behind him in Scotland. He hoped that the people would rise in arms to fight for him. But they did not do so because they were weary of civil war, and did not believe that he would be able to beat Cromwell. Meanwhile Cromwell followed him close, and surrounded him in Worcester by double his numbers. The battle raged on two sides of the town at once. The Scots fought bravely, but in the end the English forced their way into the streets, cut down the Scots by hundreds, and utterly defeated them (September, 1651). Charles had to ride hard for his life. He reached the house of a Catholic gentleman, cut off his long hair, put on peasant's clothes, and hid himself for a whole day amid the branches of a large oak, whence he saw the soldiers pass by who were searching about for himself. After running many risks he reached the coast of Sussex, and found a vessel which bore him in safety to France.

Standing armies were now kept up both in Ireland and Scotland, so that these two countries had to submit in all things to the will of their conquerors.

2 The officers of the army and the members of the Commons both wished to set up a just and good government, in which the people should share by electing members of Parliament at stated times. But they could not agree what was the right thing to be done. The Commons said that they must go on ruling until the people had got to be wiser than to wish for a Stuart king. Cromwell and his fellow officers said that this House ought to dissolve itself, and make way for an entirely new assembly. They thought that it had sat too long already, and had too much power in its hands. The members ruled free of all control, for there was none who had a right to call them to answer for what they did, and though many of them acted honourably and justly, yet the House as a body did not use its powers well.

Heavy taxes were raised and the money was wasted, and many harsh and unjust acts were done

3 As the Commons would not dissolve themselves, Cromwell took a guard of soldiers and went to Parliament House one day in April, 1653. He left the soldiers outside, but came himself into the House. At first he praised the members, but as he spoke he got angry and excited, and soon began charging them with injustice, self-seeking, and other faults. The members angrily interrupted him. 'The Lord hath done with you,' he cried, 'I tell you, you are no Parliament, you must give place to better men.' Then he called in the soldiers to turn the members out by force, if they would not go of themselves. 'What shall we do with this bauble?' he said, taking up the mace which lay on the table of the House of Commons, and then handing it to a soldier said, 'Take it away.' After this the members left the House, reproaching Cromwell as they went.

*The Long
Parliament
turned out*

4. The same year Cromwell and the officers called together an assembly of 165 persons, which was nicknamed Barebone's Parliament, from the name of one of the members, Praise God Barebone, a leather-seller in Fleet Street. Most of the members were Sectarians. They wanted, as did many of the soldiers, to make changes in the laws and customs of the country. Their fault was that they tried to do more than then could be done, and to destroy rather than to mend. Some of the members themselves were against the changes which their companions were making, and after a short time the House gave back its powers into the hands of Cromwell (December, 1653).

*Barebone's
Parliament.*

CHAPTER XV

THE PROTECTORATE

1 INDEPENDENTS, officers, and other late friends of the Commonwealth, now agreed in thinking that the only way to set up a good and settled government was to make Cromwell ruler. So, in December, 1653, Cromwell, already general of the army, became head of the State also, with the title of Protector. He agreed to keep the laws and to call Parliaments regularly.

2 Cromwell was of middle height, his features were rough, and his skin tanned brown by wind and weather.

Cromwell's character and aims. He was a man of strong feelings and of strong beliefs, very loving to his wife and children, easily made angry at the sight of wrong or injustice. He seemed by nature born to rule. He knew how to make himself obeyed and feared, he knew also how to win men's trust and love. He was not easily deceived, for he quickly read the minds of others. Though eager to set right what he thought to be amiss, he was never carried away by his zeal, for he saw that changes could not last unless the people themselves wished for them. As a ruler, Cromwell set before him two chief aims, the one was to guard for Sectarians the right to worship in their own way and teach their own beliefs, the other was to set up a good and free government which should win the good-will of all men, even if possible of Royalists.

The Protector had not many friends. Not only were the old Royalists, and the new Royalists, the Presbyterians, against him, but he found enemies amongst men who were on the same side as himself. Thus there were members of the Long Parliament who could not forgive him for having turned them out, but looked on him as a bad man who sought power for himself.

3 When Cromwell met his first Parliament, there was

only one House, a House of Commons. He and it could not agree together, and he dissolved it without its making a single law or giving him any money (January, 1655).

Cromwell's
first Parlia-
ment.

4. After this Cromwell paid no heed to the laws, but took taxes of his own will, and set officers of the army to keep order in place of the ordinary magistrates. And, as there were many plots and conspiracies against both his life and government, he often put persons in prison without giving any reason. Indeed the Petition of Right was broken every day.

Cromwell
rules with-
out heed to
law

5. But this was not the way in which Cromwell wished to rule. The desire of his heart was to set up a free government, in which the people should take part.

He failed, because the people did not care for him or his aims. They were weary of the rule of Puritans, and wanted back their old Church and government. Cromwell called a second Parliament in December, 1656. It did not, however, really represent the nation. Men who had fought against the Long Parliament were not let sit in any of Cromwell's Parliaments, and to make sure that this assembly should agree with him, Cromwell turned out of the House a hundred members, who were his enemies. Then the Parliament voted taxes and made laws. It even wished to give the Protector the title of king. Left to himself Cromwell might have taken it, for he thought the people would sooner have a king, as in old times, than a protector to reign over them. But the officers and soldiers would not hear of his doing so. They had they said fought against one king, and they would not have another. Cromwell told them that the title was a mere feather in a man's hat, and that there was no good reason for their objections, but he had to refuse the title of King, for he dared not anger his soldiers.

Cromwell's
second Par-
liament

At the next meeting of this Parliament, in 1658, Cromwell let the hundred members who were before

shut out take their seats. Then he and the Parliament disagreed, and he dissolved it before it had sat three weeks.

6 Cromwell could not get the nation to support him in his place. Still as a ruler he was very successful. His Success of hand and eye were everywhere. He crushed Cromwell's plots, and kept good order throughout the govern- ment. land. He picked out able men for his commanders, judges, and other officers. He planned wise measures for putting right what was wrong in the law and in the Church, also for setting forward education, and increasing trade. Amongst other things, he called to sit in each of his Parliaments members from Ireland and Scotland, so that England, Scotland, and Ireland were all brought together under one rule as they are to day. The Protector's rule besides being wise was also just, and in the main merciful, for, though his temper was hasty, Cromwell was also generous and forgiving. His wish always was to win his enemies over to his side.

7 The Puritans, who had now been ruling in England for some twelve years, had made use of power to try and force other people to live the same serious, quiet life they liked to live themselves. The Changes made by the Puritans. Long Parliament had shut up the theatres, and ordered actors to be whipped. Laws had been made punishing the country folk who held wrestling matches on their village green, or raised May poles and danced round them, as had been the fashion of their fathers for centuries. No kind of game might be played on Sunday. Even Christmas-day was changed from a feast into a solemn fast. Gamblers, swearers, and drunkards were fined heavily.

The Puritans had made great changes, too, in the government and services of the Church. The office of bishop

had been done away with. The use of the common prayer-book had been made a crime. Ministers who were against these changes had been forced to leave their livings. Their places had been taken by Presbyterians and Independents, who carried on the services in a plain and simple manner. Though a true idea of letting others think and act for themselves had sprung up amongst Puritans, it was only partly carried out. Quakers and other Sectarians might set up meeting-houses of their own, but neither Episcopalians nor Catholics were free to worship as they pleased. Cromwell, while he was protector, let Episcopalians and Catholics hold services of their own in private, but few of his party were willing to do so.

8 Thus we see that the Puritans, like Laud, could not leave others to do what they thought best for themselves. Hence they too were now much disliked by the people. Hundreds, who had ^{The Puritans} disliked the changes made by Laud, disliked quite as much the changes made by them. Young folks, who had grown up since the war began, did not see why they should not choose their own kind of life. The people generally were wishing for the old form of Church service back again.

9 Still, whatever were the faults of the Puritans, they had done really good work. They had hated vice, and called on all men to do their duty, and had striven to act rightly in the every-day affairs ^{John Milton} of life. And if we would think of a Puritan such as he was at his best, we may think of John Milton. Milton was the poet of the Puritans. He was born in 1608, just eight years before Shakespeare died. From his earliest childhood he was a lover of learning, and he was a lover also of all that was beautiful in nature and in art, but most of all he loved truth and purity. He thought that

the most beautiful thing there was was a human soul kept free from sin, and that the greatest victory a man could gain was a victory over his own evil desires. When the civil war broke out Milton took part with the Long Parliament against the king. Then instead of poetry he wrote books in prose, in which he treated of the government of the Church, and other questions of that time. He found great fault with the bishops and with the Presbyterians because they would have men do as they did, and think as they thought. He also called on the Parliament to let men write and publish what they pleased. The Parliament, he said, ought not to fear because men thought new thoughts and held new beliefs, for this did but show that England, 'like a strong man after sleep,' was rousing herself to do great deeds. After Cromwell's death, when a Stuart was on the throne, Milton could no more write on questions which had to do with the government of Church or State. Then he again wrote poems. But his later poems are graver in spirit than his earlier ones, for the times he had lived through had made him a graver man, and he wrote while his friends were dying on the scaffold, and the work which they had done was being undone.

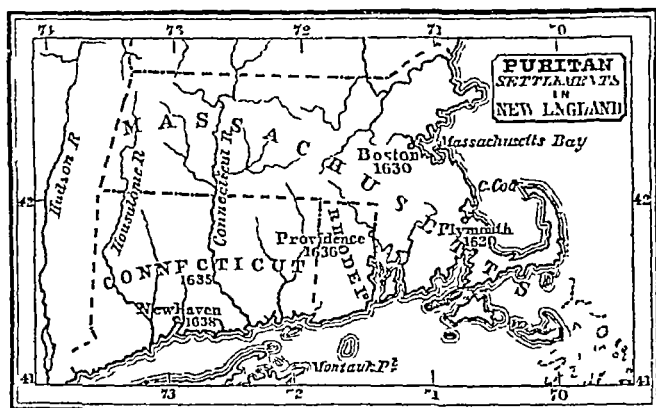
CHAPTER XVI

WAR AND COMMERCE.

1 DURING the first ten years of the reign of James I, English merchants made use of the new route by the Cape of Good Hope to trade with India and the East India islands. It was also during the reign of James I that colonies were first planted on the coast of North America. The New England States were colonised by Puritans. The first comers

North
American
Colonies

were a little band of persecuted Sectarians, who sailed in the 'May Flower' to the coast of what is now Massachusetts. They there founded a town which they called Plymouth, after the name of the last English port at which they touched (1620). After these 'Pilgrim Fathers' had cleared the way, there soon came to New England a stream of Puritan emigrants. Between the years 1629 and 1640, while Charles was ruling without Parliaments, 20,000 Englishmen sought new homes in the West.



2 The Dutch, who were a nation of seamen and traders, grew jealous at the spread of English commerce, which took place after the founding of these colonies and the opening of the trade with India. Soon after the king's death a war broke out between England and Holland, which lasted two years (1652-1653). In the end the Dutch were beaten. Cromwell, as soon as he became protector, made peace with them.

3 Foreign princes would not at first look on the men who put their king to death as lawful rulers. But after the Dutch were beaten, they began to dread the power of the English navy, and eagerly sought the friendship of England. When Cromwell was protector, he was much feared, for he had a large fleet, and a standing army, and had given proof of his wisdom and valour. In all his dealings with foreign princes Cromwell set before him the aim of doing all he could for the good of Protestants, and sometimes he was able to do a great deal. The Duke of Savoy tried by means of a cruel persecution to force the Vaudois, his Protestant subjects living in the Alpine valleys, to become Catholics. Lewis XIV, the king of France, wanted to make an alliance with England, but Cromwell would sign no treaty unless Lewis first got the duke to stop the persecution. So the duke had to give way and let his subjects worship God as they chose (1655).

4. France and Spain were rival powers and often at war with one another. Cromwell took the side of France against Spain. For when he wanted the king of Spain to give Englishmen leave to trade to the West Indies and use their Bibles in his dominions, the Spanish ambassador said, that to ask these things 'was to ask his master's two eyes'. In the war which followed, the island of Jamaica was taken from Spain and turned into an English colony (1655). In 1657 Cromwell sent 6,000 troops to help Lewis XIV in making war in the Netherlands against the king of Spain. In return Lewis besieged Dunkirk, which was held by a Spanish garrison, and when the town surrendered made it over to England (1658).

5 Though men would still have liked to set Prince Charles on the throne, yet they were content to submit to the Protector, because they found that he ruled

well at home, and got for their country a great name abroad. But it was now that Cromwell's rule was brought to an end by death. Soon after Dunkirk was made over by Lewis, Cromwell's health broke down. On his death-bed his thoughts ran on what would be the future of England after he was gone. 'I would be willing,' he said, 'to live to be further serviceable to God and His people, but my work is done. But God will be with His people.' He died in September, 1658, at the age of 59.

6 Richard Cromwell, Oliver's eldest son, became protector on his father's death. He was a good-natured young man, who meant well, but did not know how to make himself obeyed. The officers did not care for him because he was no soldier. After a few months they took power into their own hands, and called together those members of the Long Parliament who had put the king to death, and whom Oliver had turned out in 1653. The people in scorn nicknamed them the Rump. The members of the Rump soon quarrelled with the officers, and for a time the country seemed to be without any proper government at all.

7 When the people saw all these changes taking place, and the soldiers doing as they would, pulling down one government and setting up another, they became more eager than before to have Charles Stuart to reign over them. And, as it happened, General Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, was willing to carry out their wishes, for he saw that there was no one who could rule as Oliver had ruled, and that it was not well for the soldiers to be masters in England. Monk marched from Scotland at the head of such troops as he thought he could trust. When he got to London he sent unto the House of Commons, to take their seats by the side of the members

of the Rump, those Presbyterians whom Colonel Pride had turned out in December 1648. These dissolved the Parliament, thus at last bringing it to an end by its own act (March, 1660). A new Parliament met, which asked Charles Stuart to come to England. The soldiers had no leader in whom they could trust, so they submitted sullenly to see Charles brought back. 'It is my own fault,' said the new King, 'that I have not come back sooner, for I find nobody who does not tell me he has always wished for my return' (May, 1660).

CHAPTER XVII

THE RESTORATION

1 Old Royalists, Presbyterians, as well as many of Oliver's supporters, had all joined together in making Charles II King. Only the soldiers, the members of the Rump, and a few other men had stood aloof. These were not very many in number. The soldiers, however were dangerous because they had arms in their hands and knew how to fight. So the Parliament voted a grant of money, and the whole army, excepting three regiments, was at once paid off and the soldiers were sent to their homes. Men who had taken any part in the trial and execution of Charles I were imprisoned for life or put to death.

2 While the Puritans ruled, a sober and quiet manner of life had been the fashion. When Charles came back a gay and careless life came into fashion. This

was especially the case in London. The new king, who was fond of pleasure, led openly a bad life, and his ministers and courtiers followed his example. Change in manners

3 Other changes, too, took place after the return of Charles. Only those laws to which Charles I had given his consent were any longer held to be binding. All the laws made by the Long Parliament by itself, or by Cromwell and his Parliaments, came to an end. England, Scotland, and Ireland again had their separate Parliaments, the bishops were again the governors of the Church, and it was again a crime to be present at any service where the common prayer-book was not used. In the Parliament which called Charles to England many Presbyterians had seats. Charles soon dissolved this Parliament and called a second. It met in 1661, and, as we shall see, was not dissolved for many years. It is called the Cavalier Parliament, because nearly all the members belonged to families who had from the first breaking out of the civil war taken the side of the king. All Puritans were hateful to them as the destroyers of their Church. They now passed harsh laws to keep down the Puritans, and prevent them from ever again getting power into their hands. They shut Puritans out from holding offices in towns, they fined, put in prison, and even transported those who met to worship together in their own way. Ministers who would not give 'their assent and consent' to everything that was in the prayer-book, lost their livings, nor might they keep schools, or live in towns sending members to Parliament, unless they would say it was unlawful to act like the Long Parliament and take up arms against a king. Laws against Puritans

Though a dark day had come for the Puritans, their

enemies could not undo all that they had done. Their teaching, their ideas of right and wrong, were still cherished even by many who were content with the services of the established Church. Of all the writers of the Restoration, two Puritans have had the largest number of readers. It was during these years of persecution that John Bunyan, a Sectarian in prison in Bedford Gaol, wrote the 'Pilgrim's Progress', and that Milton, now blind and old, wrote his great poems of 'Paradise Lost' and 'Paradise Regained'.

4. From this time Puritans had to give up all hope of making the Church of England their Church, as they had done under the Long Parliament and Oliver. So now Presbyterians as well as Sectarians asked for liberty to go their own way, and leave the established Church alone. Henceforth, therefore, they were no longer called Puritans but *Dissenters*, because they wished to *dissent* from the worship of the established Church, and have chapels of their own. Though the Dissenters now were persecuted, we shall see in the end how they got what they asked for.

5. Government by a king and Parliament seemed to the members of the Cavalier Parliament the best form of government possible. All the changes and sufferings which the country had gone through since 1641 they laid to the score of the Long Parliament, which had taken up arms against Charles I. But though the members were very fond of their king, they thought a great deal of themselves besides, and meant that Parliaments should have just as much power as they ever had before. So they were not willing to let Charles have a large standing army like Oliver, nor did they give him money enough of his own to set him free from the need of asking Parliament for more.

6. We must see what Charles was like, and what were

the aims which he set before him Charles was thirty years old when he came to the throne He liked to take life easily, and to enjoy himself He was a clever and witty talker, his manners were pleasant, and he was always liked by the people in London, who were glad to see him sauntering in St James' Park, feeding the ducks and playing with his spaniels Charles was, however, a thoroughly selfish man He did not care what means he took to gain his ends He often deceived his ministers as to what he really meant to do, for he was a clever deceiver He thought that everyone was either a dupe or a hypocrite

Character
and aims of
Charles II

Charles could not hope to rule without Parliaments Still he wished to be free of the control of Parliament and to be able to spend money, and have his own way, without being called to answer for what he did by the Commons He wished also to have a standing army like his cousin, Lewis XIV, the king of France

About religion Charles cared little, but, in his heart, he seems to have thought that the Roman Catholic form of religion was the best If he could get toleration for Catholics by giving toleration to Dissenters also he was willing to do so Still Charles II was not a man who runs into danger Plenty of money, toleration for Catholics, a standing army—these were the three things which he thought most worth getting, but he would not risk his crown for them or for anything else As he was once heard to say, he did not mean to go on his travels again It was always well to give way and wait until the right time came

7 In the course of a very few years the Parliament began to go against the king In 1664 Charles went to war with the Dutch At first the English gained the advantage, but afterwards they were less successful This displeased the

War with
the Dutch
1664 1667

Commons, who had voted large sums for carrying on the war. They thought, and thought truly, that the king spent the money on his own amusements at Whitehall, instead of fitting out ships and paying his soldiers and sailors, so they made Charles let them look through his account books to see how the money which they gave him was spent. In 1667, while Charles' fleet was laid up for want of repairs, the Dutch sailed up the Medway as far as Chatham and burned three English men of war. After this, peace had to be made with the Dutch upon their own terms.

8 While the Dutch war lasted, two great calamities befell London. Owing to the neglected state of the streets, and the dirty habits of the people, towns and villages were often visited with plagues. None, however, within man's memory was so fatal to life as the Great Plague of 1665. It was reckoned that one out of every ten of the inhabitants of London died. The Great Plague was followed by a great fire. For three days and three nights the flames burned on without stopping, and at the end of that time two-thirds of London was in ashes. The old houses had been of timber, the new houses were built of brick. The present domed cathedral of St. Paul was built on the site of the old one, which stood in the middle of the part where the fire raged (1666).

9 Heavy taxes, the Dutch war, the plague and the fire all came together, bringing much distress after them.

✓ The king's chief minister had to answer. This was the Lord Chancellor, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. In his youth Hyde had sat in the Long Parliament, and had taken part in the impeachment of Strafford. He had afterwards become a Royalist, and was with Charles II in his exile. He was now much disliked, both because he had got Charles to sell Dunkirk to Lewis

XIV, and because he had gone against the enquiry made by the Commons into the king's accounts Charles himself was tired of his minister, for though Clarendon did not wish that the king should have to give way to the wishes of the Commons, his notions were too old-fashioned to let him like the thought of keeping up a standing army, or of letting Catholics or Dissenters worship as they chose. Being impeached by the Commons of high treason (1667), he fled to France, where he soon afterwards died.

CHAPTER XVIII

OPPOSITION BETWEEN KING AND PARLIAMENT

1 To understand what took place in England, we must see what was passing on the other side of the Channel. A hundred years ago Spain had been the most powerful country on the Continent. But since that time France had risen to hold the place once held by Spain. Lewis XIV was very powerful and very ambitious. He wanted to conquer the Netherlands, which belonged to Spain, as well as other territories bordering France on the east and north-east, and thus to make his kingdom reach to the banks of the Rhine. Men in England greatly feared the power of Lewis. They were therefore glad when in 1668 Charles made an alliance, called the Triple Alliance, between England, Holland, and Sweden, to force Lewis to make peace with Spain. Charles, however, did not really care about standing against Lewis nearly so much as about having plenty of money, and being free of the control of Parliament. Lewis soon found this out, and he and Charles made an agreement together. Lewis agreed to

*The Triple
Alliance and
Treaty of
Dover*

give Charles money, and Charles agreed to join Lewis in making war on Holland by land and sea, and to declare himself a Catholic. This treaty, which was made at Dover, was of course kept secret, only two of the king's ministers, who themselves were Catholics, knew of it (1670)

2 Charles never dared call himself a Catholic. Still he thought he might do something for Catholics, and published what was called a Declaration of Indulgence, permitting Catholics to worship in private, and Dissenters both in public and private, in their own way. People at once asked what right the king had to set aside or suspend all the Acts of Parliament which forbade Dissenters and Catholics to worship in their own way. The next time Parliament met, the Commons called the Declaration unlawful, and would not give Charles any money until he withdrew it (1673)

3 At the same time that Charles published the Declaration of Indulgence he went to war with Holland (1672)

✓ The Test Act. Though the secret treaty was not known of, everybody thought that some league had been made between Charles, Lewis, and the Catholics to let Charles rule by means of a standing army, and overthrow the Protestant religion. Charles was getting together an army to invade Holland. It was said that the officers were all Catholics. The Commons, wishing to drive them out of office, got Charles to give his consent to a law, which said that all persons holding office in the state were to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and swear that they did not believe the Romish doctrine of the change in substance of the bread and wine into our Lord's body and blood (1673). This new law went by the name of the Test Act, for it tested who were Catholics. James, the Duke of York, the king's brother, was a Catholic. So he had to give up his post of

Lord Admiral. Many other officers had to give up their posts. When it was seen how many Catholics had been in office Protestants became more frightened than before. The Commons would no longer give money for making war on the Dutch, a Protestant people, manfully fighting Lewis in spite of great odds. To content them Charles had to make peace with Holland, and turn two of his ministers out of office (1674).

4. The king's attempt to give Catholics liberty of worship had failed, and had only made Protestants dislike and fear them more than before. For men thought that Charles was a Catholic, and that his aim was to govern by the aid of Catholics without heeding the wishes of Parliament. The more eager, therefore, he showed himself to do something for Catholics, the more eager the Parliament became to keep the laws in force. On the other hand, Dissenters were not feared so much as they had been fourteen years ago. It was seen that Charles was trying to get their aid against the Parliament by setting aside the laws against them. Many Churchmen, therefore, had come round to think that it would be well for Protestants to overlook differences between themselves and stand together as friends, for the sake of the Protestant faith and the power of Parliament. Even in the Cavalier Parliament the Dissenters found friends, willing to pass an Act of Parliament in their favour. There were also other signs of change. People were so afraid of what Charles might do, that they again began to say that it was lawful to take up arms in defence of the Protestant religion, of laws and liberties. So the Cavalier Parliament split into two parties. The larger party still held that it was unlawful to take up arms against a king, but the smaller party, which was also friendly to the Dissenters, held that it was lawful to go against a king, if he used his power ill.

Opposition
in Parlia-
ment ✓

The leader of this smaller party was Antony Ashley Cooper. He was a little man, of a restless spirit, very clever, very ambitious, and, like other statesmen of his time, very heedless what he did to gain his ends. Once he had served Cromwell, but after the Restoration he had become Charles' minister, and had been made Earl of Shaftesbury. Charles kept secret from him that he had promised Lewis to declare himself a Catholic, for he knew that, although Shaftesbury wanted to do something for Dissenters, he did not like Catholics. Perhaps Shaftesbury found out what the king had done, but at any rate he suddenly took part against him, speaking in Parliament against the Declaration of Indulgence and the war with Holland. Charles turned him out of office, and then he became the leader of Charles' opponents in Parliament.

5 There was now a great aim, which Shaftesbury set before him. Charles had no children by his wife

Catherine of Braganza, a princess of Portugal
 The aims of Shaftesbury The heir to the throne was the king's brother,

James, the Duke of York, who had declared himself a Catholic. Shaftesbury made up his mind that, if he could help it, no Catholic should sit on the English throne. But it was hard to shut James out. The members of the Commons were, it was true, in a very ill-temper with Charles, because they thought him a bad Protestant. Still, most of them believed that kings had their power from God, and that it was wrong to take it away from them. However much afraid of Catholics, therefore, they would never pass an Act of Parliament to shut James, the next heir, out from the throne. So Shaftesbury set to work to force Charles to dissolve this Parliament and call a new one, for he thought that, when new elections were held, the electors would choose members who would do the things which he wished done.

6 We must see what Charles and Lewis were about.

Charles had money given him by Lewis every year, on condition that he did not go to war with France. After a time, however, he began to draw further away from Lewis and nearer to his own Parliament. His brother James had married Anne Hyde, the daughter of that Earl of Clarendon who was impeached in 1667. Their children, Mary and Anne, had been brought up Protestants. Charles now agreed to a marriage between Mary and William, the Prince of Orange, his nephew (1677), who had lately become Stadtholder, or President of the Dutch Republic, and who was Lewis' ablest and most bitter enemy. Charles afterwards told the Commons that he was ready to go to war with Lewis, if needful, to force him to make peace with Spain. The Commons were glad at the thought of a war with France, and voted the king a large sum of money. It is hard to say whether Charles really meant to go to war with France. But he got a grant of money, and an excuse for raising an army to use against the Parliament, if need were.

7 When Lewis saw Charles making up to the Parliament, and talking of war with France, he became angry and alarmed. The Earl of Danby, at this time Charles' chief minister, often bribed members of Parliament not to act against the king's wishes. To ward off danger, Lewis did the same thing, giving money to the followers of Shaftesbury, and promising to try and get Charles to dissolve the Parliament, if they would stop his going to war with France.

8 As soon as Charles had got together an army, men were frightened lest he should use it against the Parliament, and would gladly have seen the soldiers sent home again. But when the Commons wanted Charles to do this he refused, saying he needed the army to keep the country in a state of defence. While people were in this uneasy and suspicious state of mind,

Charles
quarrels
with Lewis

Lewis and
the Opposi-
tion

The Popish
plot

a man, named Titus Oates, came forward with a long story about a Popish plot (1678) The king, he said, was going to be murdered and the Catholics to make themselves rulers Now this story was most likely untrue from beginning to end But it was believed, because it fell in with what everybody was thinking at the time, that there was some plot against the Parliament and the Protestant faith Oates had only to say here is the plot, and all were ready to join in the cry

9 When Parliament met again, Shaftesbury made use of the terror the members were in to get a new Test Act passed, which would shut Catholics out of the House of Lords While Elizabeth was queen, an Act of Parliament had been made ordering members of the House of Commons to take the oath of Supremacy, which said that the queen was supreme governor of the realm, and that the pope had no power in it But members of the House of Lords had not had to take this oath By the new Act, all members of Parliament had to take the oath, and to say besides that the worship of saints was idolatrous, and that they did not believe the doctrine of the change of the bread and wine into Christ's body and blood The Lords, while the bill was passing through their House, put in some words to say that the Duke of York need not say this, but other Catholic Peers had henceforth to deny their religion or stay away from Parliament

10 Lewis now took his revenge on Charles for threatening France with war The Earl of Danby had written very unwillingly, by Charles' command, a letter asking Lewis to give Charles money Lewis had this letter laid before the Commons, who at once impeached Danby Charles, to save his minister, did the thing which Shaftesbury wished him to do, and dissolved the Parliament (December, 1678).

Catholics
shut out of
the House
of Lords

Dissolution
of Parlia-
ment

11 About this time two words came into use, which long lasted as the names of two parties in England. Those who said that James, though a Catholic, ought to reign were nicknamed *Tories*, after some bands of wild Irish Catholics, called Tories. Those who wished to shut James out from the throne, because he was not a Protestant, were nicknamed *Whigs*, after some bands of Presbyterians called Whiggamores, who were in arms in Scotland. The Tories, or people who wished James to reign, were the clergy of the established Church, and all others who said that kings had their power from God, and might not be withstood by force of arms. The Whigs, or people who wished James not to reign, were the Dissenters, and all others who held that kings might be withstood by force of arms, if laws and liberties were in danger.

CHAPTER XIX

EXCLUSION BILLS AND THE POPISH PLOT

1 CHARLES called another Parliament in 1679. The people were so afraid of Catholics that everywhere the electors chose Whigs to sit in the House of Commons. Charles tried to gain the good-will of the Parliament by turning Danby out of office, and sending his soldiers home again. But nothing would satisfy the Commons but the passing of an Act of Parliament to shut James out from the throne. Charles dissolved the Parliament and called a second, which proved of just the same temper as the first. He dissolved the second and called a third. It was to meet at Oxford instead of London, where the Whig party was very strong. When it was opened, bands of London citizens came up to Oxford wearing ribands, on which were the words 'No Popery, no Slavery.' The great Whig lords brought up

their tenants in arms The king on his side came attended by his guards It seemed as if a civil war was on the point of breaking out, and Charles dissolved the Parliament before it had sat three weeks (1681)

2 No exclusion bill had passed the House of Lords in any of these three Parliaments, and already the Whigs had not so many friends as before Besides the shutting out of James, men had to think of whom they were to make king in James' stead Shaftesbury put forward as future king the Duke of Monmouth Monmouth was Charles' son, but his mother had never been married to Charles, so that he had no claim to the throne. The country people were, it was true, fond of him, and when he travelled would gather in crowds to welcome him But Shaftesbury was not wise in wishing to make Monmouth king Mary, the wife of the Prince of Orange, was the heir next after her father James She was a Protestant, and many of the Whigs were unwilling to pass her by Then, again, there were many people who when they were very much afraid of Catholics took the part of the Whigs, but when they were very much afraid of Dissenters took the part of the Tories These now went over to the Tories, for they feared lest the Dissenters should get too much power, and thought that of the two they would sooner have James than Monmouth to reign over them

3 When it was found that Oates was honoured and rewarded for having found out a dangerous plot, more men came forward with stories against the Catholics All the time that the Exclusion Bills were being fought over numbers of Catholics were being tried and put to death for treason It did not matter how unlikely the stories brought against them were, for the jurymen believed them guilty before they were tried, and the judges took the part of their accusers Shaftesbury, though he knew that Oates was a liar, did

Shaftesbury
and Monmouth.

The Popish
plot

all he could to keep alive the fear of the people Charles, like Shaftesbury, did not believe in Oates' stories But he did not try to save the Catholics For he thought the more innocent blood the Whigs shed, the more surely would people come round in time to take his side He judged quite rightly The cruelty and violence with which Shaftesbury acted in the end told against him Men were getting ashamed of ever having trusted in the word of Oates and his fellows Juries began to say that the prisoners were innocent, and the crowd, which used to shout with joy when a Catholic was sent to the scaffold, now shouted with joy when one was set at liberty When Lord Stafford, an old man of upwards of seventy, told the people from the scaffold that he was innocent, they answered him with shouts of 'God bless you, my lord' 'We believe you, my lord'

4 Though the Whigs did not get James shut out from reigning, they got Charles' consent to one very important law, called the *Habeas Corpus* Act The Petition of Right had said that no man was to be put in prison without a cause being given, in order that he might not be kept in prison and never brought to trial. But the king's ministers had still found ways of doing this So the *Habeas Corpus* Act now said that the judges were to give writs of *Habeas Corpus* to prisoners who asked for them, and to set them at liberty if they could be trusted to come at the proper time and answer to the crimes laid to their charge Gaolers were always, on receiving writs of *Habeas Corpus*, to bring their prisoners before the judges, except those accused of treason, murder, and other crimes called felonies But in order that such might not be kept in prison for long, their trial was to take place within a certain time or else they too were to be set at liberty The *Habeas Corpus* Act did not lay down anything new, for it was an old right of Englishmen not to be kept in prison at the pleasure of the king But it laid down the

The *Habeas Corpus* Act. ✓

law in such clear and plain words that henceforth the king and his ministers could not claim the right to set it aside in any case (1679)

CHAPTER XX

REACTION AGAINST THE WHIGS

1 THE remembrance of the time when Puritans had ruled in England, and the country had been under the power of a standing army, was so bitter to most men that there was nothing they more feared than another civil war. Hence although Charles often gave great offence to his subjects, yet they were always fond of him, and rather than see his throne or his life in danger were willing to let him act in many things against their wishes. Men now went against the Whigs, who seemed to wish to take up arms because Charles would not consent to shut his brother out from reigning. After the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, Charles made use of the feeling in his favour to increase his own power and to put down the Whigs. He again had money every year from Lewis on condition that he did not go to war with France, and thus was able to rule for four years without calling a Parliament together.

2 Many towns had got charters from former kings giving them privileges, such as the right of setting up their own mayors and magistrates. The Whigs had much power in these places. So now London and other towns were accused of having made a wrong use of their privileges, and their charters were taken away from them. Charles indeed gave them back new charters, but he took care that the mayors, aldermen, and other officers should all be Tories. He also took care that only the chief people, whom he could easily influence, should be let vote at the election of members of Parliament. After making these changes he

might hope at a future day to meet a House of Commons from which the Whig party should be almost quite shut out. Meanwhile, Whigs were brought to trial on various charges. Many were fined, imprisoned, and put to death. Shaftesbury fled to Holland, where he died soon afterwards.

3 The Whigs grieved over the failure of their plans. James was not shut out from reigning. The king, though not doing anything that was exactly unlawful—Whig conspiracies ✓ for it was the judges who said he had a right to take away the charters—was yet robbing the towns of any real liberty either in the choice of their own officers, or of members of Parliament. Lord William Russell was one of the chief leaders of the Whig party. He used to meet with some of his friends and talk over plans of rising in arms. Shaftesbury had amongst his followers old soldiers of Cromwell's army. These knew of the meetings of the Whig leaders, and thought that they would help on their plans by making a plot of their own, to waylay Charles and his brother, perhaps to shoot them, as they passed from Newmarket to London by a lonely farm-house, called the Rye House, in Hertfordshire. The plans of these conspirators, as well as the meetings of the Whig leaders, were betrayed to the king's ministers. Russell was tried for treason. Though he had known nothing of the Rye House Plot, and though the fact that he had ever thought of rebellion was not clearly proved against him, the jury still found him guilty. Russell would not own that he had done anything wrong. The people, he thought, had a right to stand up for their religion and liberties when these were taken from them on any pretence. Charles held that the man who thought thus was too dangerous to let live. 'If I do not take his life,' he said, 'he will soon take mine.' So Russell was put to death in 1683.

Charles died in February, 1685, and was succeeded by his brother James.

CHAPTER XXI

CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS

1 JAMES II had barely reigned four months when a rebellion broke out in the west. Many Whigs had fled to Holland, after the dissolution of the short ^{Invasion of} Monmouth. Parliament at Oxford in 1681. These now set sail with Monmouth at their head, and landed at Lyme-Regis, in Dorsetshire. Peasants, small farmers, and shopkeepers gathered together to fight for Monmouth, but as no Whig noblemen or gentlemen took part with him, he had no chance of winning. His brave little army of peasants was routed by the royal troops on Sedgemoor, in Somersetshire. He himself was taken prisoner, hiding in a ditch in peasant's clothes. He was brought to London and there beheaded. A brutal judge, called Jeffreys, who was sent by James into the west to try the rebels, acted with so much harshness and cruelty, that his name was hated by all men. The country was covered with gibbets. Even girls at school, who had given Monmouth banners, were cast into prison. A suppliant came to Whitehall to beg mercy for her brother. 'Do not flatter yourself with hopes,' said one of the officers of James' army, John Churchill, afterwards the Duke of Marlborough, 'this marble,' and he laid his hand on the chimney-piece, 'is not harder than the king.'

2 James was neither a good nor a clever man. He had a hard, cruel nature. He also set his mind on making everyone think like himself. He called a Parliament soon after he came to the throne. He hoped that it would grant him plenty of money to keep up a large stand-

ing army, and also do away with the laws against Catholics. The House of Commons was filled with Tories. They were willing to do a great deal for James, but not the two things which he wanted them to do. They dreaded a standing army as much as the Whigs. They were quite as unwilling to do away with the laws against Catholics as the Whigs. James, finding that the Parliament would not help him to carry out his wishes, brought the session to an end, and never called the members together again (1685).

3 James next set to work to carry out his plans by means of his royal power. The king claimed in certain cases to set aside, or dispense with, a law in favour of an individual. For instance, he could grant a pardon to a murderer. James, therefore, first set four men to be judges who would explain the law as he wished it to be explained, and then caused a servant to accuse a Catholic gentleman, who was in command of a regiment, of not having taken the sacrament as the Test Act required. A trial was held, and the judges said that James had the right to set aside the Test Act in favour of an individual. Now, of course, what the judges said that it was lawful for James to do in the case of one man, it was also lawful for him to do in the case of other men. So, after this trial, James paid no heed whatever to the laws, but put very many Catholics in office, and even made them members of the universities and members of his council (1686).

4 James knew that all Churchmen were very angry with him for thus putting Catholics on an equal footing with members of the Church of England. He therefore thought it wise to try and make the Dissenters his friends. With this end he published a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending the laws against Catholics and Dissenters, and giving leave to both to worship in public and private according to

The Dis-
pensing
Power ✓

Declaration
of Indul-
gence. ✓

their own forms (1687) Men at once asked whether it was lawful for the king to set aside in this general way a large number of laws James could say that former kings had sometimes suspended laws, and that his rights were the same as theirs If, however, their right to suspend laws had not been called in question, this was because they used their power in cases in which the people also thought that it was good that the laws should be set aside James used his in order to rule in a manner directly contrary to the wishes of the nation Men held that in England the king could not rule according to his own will, and denied the lawfulness of a power that left him at liberty to do so

5 James still wanted to get the laws done away with by an Act of Parliament He was now an old man, and he could not hide from himself that, as soon as he was dead, the laws would be put in force again In hopes of presently meeting a Parliament that should carry out his wishes, he undid his brother's work, turning out of office Tory magistrates both in town and country, and setting in their places Catholics and Dissenters This was a very bold step for James to take He made bitter enemies of the Tories, who hitherto had said that the king's commands must always be obeyed, and who had placed him on the throne Nor could he after all win the Dissenters to promise to stand by him Though they were given freedom to worship in their own way, they could not bring themselves to act with Catholics, or uphold the Declaration of Indulgence, which they looked on as unlawful Besides more tempting offers were being made them by others The clergy of the Church of England and other Tories were now in such great fear of Catholics, that they began to feel, like those Churchmen who were Whigs, that after all the Dissenters were Protestants, and, as such, friends Tories and Whigs therefore agreed in telling the Dissenters, that if instead of taking part with the king and the Catholics,

Dissenters
go against
James

they would stand fast to the cause of the laws and the Church of England, they should presently have an Act of Parliament giving them leave to worship in their own way

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REVOLUTION (1688)

1 JAMES would not give way in spite of all warnings. He published a second Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered it to be read by all ministers on two following Sundays at the time of service. The
Bishops'
Petition Episcopals and Dissenters agreed to disobey this command. Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and six bishops drew up a petition, in which they told the king that they could not with a safe conscience read his Declaration, because it was unlawful. Tories, like Whigs, had come to think that they were most loyal to their king when they obeyed the laws.

2 On the appointed day the Declaration was read in only four London churches. In the country the clergy were equally disobedient. James wished to punish the bishops for having set the example of resistance. The trial of
the Bishops Their petition had been printed and sold by thousands of copies. So he brought them before the Court of King's Bench on the charge of having published a false, seditious, and malicious libel. The court was so full that there was hardly standing room. Thirty-five peers were seen in the crowd. It was proved that the bishops were the authors of the petition, the next question was, whether it was a libel? That was a point which the lawyers and judges had to explain to the jury. The judges knew that James would be angry with them if they did not say the petition was a libel. But on that day they were very careful of their words. They felt that

James would soon have done all he could, and they feared the anger of a future Parliament more than the loss of office. The Chief Justice, one who was there said, looked as if all the peers present had halts in their pockets. There were four judges in the court. Only two said that the petition was a libel. Not one said that the Declaration of Indulgence was lawful. When the jury gave a verdict of 'Not Guilty,' such a shout was raised by the crowd within the court and the crowd standing outside, that it was heard for a mile off. Never had the bishops been so dear to the people. Every Protestant, were he Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Sectarian, was on their side. As they left the court men dropped on their knees, begging a blessing of them. Bonfires were lighted in the streets, and the church bells set ringing as at times of great rejoicing (June, 1688).

Men were now tired of James' rule, and looked for some other to set in his place as king.

3 William of Orange was the son of Mary, a daughter of Charles I. He was, therefore, both nephew and son-in-law of James. On the same day on which the bishops were found 'not guilty,' a letter was sent to William, asking him to come to England at the head of an army. It was signed by seven leaders of the Whig and Tory parties. Men who had once stood against one another had joined together against James II, who had made enemies of his friends.

James wished to be independent of Parliament. So, although he was a proud man and felt ashamed of the act, like Charles before him he took money of Lewis, knowing that in return he must do as Lewis told him in foreign affairs. Foreign princes, therefore, who were Lewis' enemies, and hoped to get England to join an alliance against him, wished success to William's expedition.

William landed at Torbay in November, 1688, with a small army of Dutch and English troops. Both Whig and

Tory noblemen and gentlemen soon came in numbers to welcome him. James, finding the very officers of his army desert him, after a little hesitation fled to France. He hoped by the aid of Lewis to be set again on his throne.

4. The Tories did not wish to put James off the throne, but to call him back and let him rule if he agreed to rule in the manner they wished. But they could not have their way, because they no longer had the favour of the people. A Parliament

The Declaration of Rights. ✓

met, in which the Whigs were the stronger party. The throne was declared vacant, and the crown was given to William and Mary as joint rulers. Parliament at the same time drew up a Declaration of Rights. This laid down the terms on which the Lords and Commons gave the crown away. Those means by which the Stuarts had tried to rule without asking the advice of Parliament were declared unlawful. Parliaments, the Declaration of Rights said, ought to be often held, the king might not raise taxes or keep a standing army without consent of Parliament, he might not set aside laws or fail to put laws in force without consent of Parliament (February, 1689). This Declaration afterwards received the royal consent in the form of a law which was called the Bill of Rights.

5. The revolution which set William and Mary on the throne brought to an end the long struggle between the king and the Parliament. William took the crown knowing that he must give way to the wishes of the House of Commons. He could not claim any right to the throne, save the right given him by Act of Parliament. The king who claimed powers from God that were above the laws was his rival James. If William had made like claims he must have lost his throne at once.

Summary

The closer union between king and Parliament that followed the Revolution brought about, amongst other things, that England was able to take a more active and

successful part in foreign affairs. The Stuarts could not carry on wars successfully because they would not give way to the wishes of Parliament, and could not tax their subjects without consent of Parliament. The secret of Cromwell's strength lay in the fact that he had a standing army, and so could take taxes of his own will if Parliament refused to grant them. Had the Stuarts been able, like him, to force men to obey them by means of a standing army, Parliaments must have ceased to have any real power, and the king would have been able to rule according to his own will, in whatever way he thought best.

After the Revolution monarchy above the law was no longer possible in England. This victory had not been gained without a heavy price. There had been many years of revolution, and many acts of violence had been done. In the midst of change and danger men had grown up false and self-seeking. The leaders of the Parliaments which stood against James I and Charles I thought a great deal of their country, little of themselves and their own fortunes. The statesmen of the time of Charles II and James II were greedy after power and riches, and thought little of the rights of the people.

We have travelled a long way since 1603. Then it would have been held folly, if not treason, to say that Parliament was to be first, the king second, or to say that Protestants, who did not think as their neighbours thought, were to be free to worship in their own way, and to teach their own beliefs.

THE HOUSES OF STUART AND HANOVER

JAMES I, 1603-1625
(Great great grandson of Henry VII)

CHARLES I, 1625-1649

CHARLES II,
1660-1685
(Died childless)

Mary = William of
Orange

JAMES II, 1685-1688
(Died childless, 1660)

Henry, Duke
of Gloucester (Died 1670)

Hennetta = Duke of
Orleans

WILLIAM III = MARY II, 1689-1694
(Both died childless)

1689-1702
1714

ANNE, 1702-1714
(Died childless)

JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD
(Died 1765)

Anne Mary = Victor
Amadeus of Savoy

GEORGE I, 1714-1727
GEORGE II, 1727-1760

Charles Edward,
(Died childless, 1788)

Henry Benedict
(Died childless, 1807)

Frederick, Prince of Wales
(Died 1751)

William, Duke of Cumberland.
(Died childless, 1765)

GEORGE III, 1760-1820

GEORGE IV, 1820-1830
(Died childless)

Frederick, Duke of York
(Died childless, 1827)

WILLIAM IV, 1830-1837
(Died childless)

Edward, Duke of Kent.
VICTORIA

Edward VII

BOOK VI.



THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION



INTRODUCTION

THE chief things to be noticed in this period of our history are the following —

1 How the Revolution of 1688 made the House of Commons the strongest thing in the State

2 How England engaged in a long and costly war with France, the greatest nation in Europe at that time, because the French king thought fit to meddle in her affairs, and how she won much fame and new lands thereby

3 How a new line of kings was set on the throne, and how, during the reigns of the first two of these kings, the great families among the English nobility took to themselves the foremost place in ruling the country

4 How the rule of the great families broke down at a time when England was called upon to put forth all her strength, and how the task of guiding the country

through its troubles was given to a man of surpassing genius, who raised it to a height of greatness such as it had never before reached

5 How a king came to the throne, who strove with all his might to beat down the strength of the great families, and win for himself some of the power which his forefathers had held, and how, after a hard fight, he gained his object.

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND AND THE REVOLUTION

1 IN February 1689 the Lords and Commons asked William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, to become King and Queen of England

William III
King,
1689-1702

Mary II
Queen 1689-
1694

William and Mary agreed to do so, and at once the new order of things which is called the 'Revolution settlement,' began

2 Though a good many changes in our rulers and ways of ruling have been brought about by force, the change made at this time is the only one to which the name 'Revolution' has been given Yet it is not a good name For the change, though it led to great things in later times, was not itself a great one The laws which were in force under William and Mary were not very different from those which ought to have been in force under James II The rights of the people were much the same The Declaration of Rights made nothing law that had not been law before. It only stated clearly, so that henceforth there could be no mistake about them, what the rights of the people were

'Revolution not a good name for the change of 1688-9'

3 Yet the nation gained a good deal by the Revolution (1) There was no longer as much quarrelling between the king and the Parliament as there had been Parliament now got the mastery in the State, from this time it grew ever stronger, and the king ever weaker, until the king could do nothing which the Parliament disliked, and the Parliament could force the king to do anything it pleased (2) The House of Commons became much more powerful than the House of Lords All the money that was wanted for keeping up an army and a navy, or for any other public purpose, had first to be voted by the Commons Thus the Commons were able henceforth to get anything they greatly wished to have, for, if the king or the Lords were unwilling to assent to what they asked, they had only to refuse to vote the taxes, and the king and the Lords *had* to assent It is true that the king might still choose his ministers, but, if most of the Commons did not like a minister, they could make the king send him away Hence the king had to put into offices of State such men as the Commons wished to see there (3) Though the laws were much the same, the way in which they were put in force was different Parliament made a law that the judges should stay in their offices so long as they gave just judgement Before this the king could make and unmake judges as he pleased, and so they had been too careful to do his will

4 The parliament which gave the throne to William and Mary had not been called by a king, and was therefore supposed not to be a true parliament, able to pass laws binding on the people It was only named a convention But it was thought dangerous to have a new parliament chosen while men's minds were unsettled, and accordingly it changed itself from a convention to a parlia-

What the
Revolution
did for
England

The Con-
vention
made a
Parliament,
February,
1689

ment It lasted a year longer, and did many things of great importance

5 The men who had been most helpful in bringing about the late changes did not all belong to one party, some were Whigs, some were Tories William therefore wished to show no liking for Whigs more than for Tories, and took as his ministers men of all parties Chief among these were the Earls of Danby, Nottingham, and Shrewsbury This plan, however, did not work well, and afterwards William had to choose his ministers almost all from the same party, the Commons would not let him do anything else

Moreover the men who had been most helpful in bringing about the late changes were not all of the same way of thinking in religion, many of them belonged to the Church of England, many were Dissenters It seemed, therefore, a fitting time to grant the Dissenters some relief from the harsh laws passed against them in Charles II's reign Protestant Dissenters, save those who denied the Trinity, were no longer forbidden to have places of worship and services of their own, if they would only swear that they abhorred from their hearts the doctrine of the Pope's deposing power and denied that any foreign prince or person had authority in England The law that gave them this is called the Toleration Act Men's notions were still, however, very narrow, care was taken that the Roman Catholics should get no benefit from this law Even a Protestant Dissenter might not yet take a post in the king's service, for the Test Acts were left untouched

6 King William, who was a Presbyterian in his own land, wanted very much to see the Dissenters won back to the Church of England To bring this about, he wished the Church to alter those things in the Prayer Book which kept Dis-

William's
first
ministers

J The Tolera-
tion Act
April, 1689

The Com-
prehension
Scheme,
1689

senters from joining with her. But most of the clergy would not have any change, and because these were the stronger party in Convocation—as the Parliament of the Church is called—William could get nothing done.

At the same time a rent, which at first seemed likely to be serious, was made in the Church itself. There was a strong feeling among the clergy in favour of the banished King. So a law was made by The Non-jurors, 1689 which every man who held any preferment in the Church, or either of the Universities, had to swear to be true to King William and Queen Mary, or had to give up his preferment. Most of the clergy were very unwilling to obey this law, but only 400 were found stout-hearted enough to give up their livings rather than do what they thought to be a wicked thing. These were called *non-jurors*, or men who would not swear. Among them were five out of the seven Bishops who had withstood James II only a year before. The sect of non-jurors, who looked upon themselves as the only true Churchmen, did not spread. But it did not die out altogether until seventy years ago.

7 It was at this time that the names High-Church and Low-Church first came into use. The parties so called were of much the same way of thinking as High-Churchmen and Low-Churchmen are now. Another new name, which we shall meet very often, is also now first found in our history. Those who wished to bring back James II were known The Jacobites, 1689-1760 as *Jacobites* (from *Jacobus*, the Latin word for *James*) just as those who held to William were known as *Williamites*. The Jacobite party were never strong enough to rise in arms during this reign, but it was very restless, made many plots, and gave a good deal of trouble to the Government. Its great longing was to overthrow William by getting Lewis of France to send an army to

England. The English never cared much for William. He was a stranger, his temper was gloomy, he was cold and distant with all save his old and tried friends, and he took no pains to win the love of those who came near him. Mary's character was different, she was frank, cheerful, and gay, and her sweetness of temper and grace of manner did more at first to strengthen the new order of things than all her husband's wisdom and valour. But there was a good deal of mismanagement and wicked dealing among William's ministers at this time, some men in office thought the new king and queen would soon be driven out of the kingdom, and eagerly filled their pockets out of the king's treasury whilst they had the chance. In this way the Government fell into disfavour with the people, the Jacobites became every day stronger, and before a year was over it seemed as if the Revolution Settlement would soon be all unsettled again by a second restoration of the Stuarts.

8 Moreover, William was himself ill at ease in England. His Whig ministers quarrelled with his Tory ministers, Parliament would not give him the revenue which had been given to James II, it would not settle the Crown, as William wished, on the Electress Sophia of Hanover in case he and Mary died childless. Nor would it agree to an Act for granting a full pardon to the agents of tyranny in the late reigns unless a great many men were shut out from its benefits. Early in 1690 the king is said to have thought of going back to Holland, so little did he like the way the English were treating him. However this may be, he deemed it impossible for him to get on with the Parliament that then was, therefore he put an end to it, and

Characters
of William
and Mary

Unpopu-
larity of
William's
rule at first.

William's
dissatisfac-
tion.

Revolution
Parliament
dissolved,
1690.

called a new one, which he hoped would be easier to deal with

9 But before this, two laws of great importance had been passed—the Mutiny Bill and the Bill of Rights. The Mutiny Bill gave the king power to put to death any soldier who deserted his colours or mutinied against his officers. At first it was very short, and was to have force for six months only, but it has since grown into a kind of military code, and is passed from year to year. It has thus become a means of forcing the king to bring together Parliament every year. The Bill of Rights is little more than the Declaration of Rights turned into a regular law. There are two things, however, in it which are not in the Declaration: (1) it makes it impossible for any King or Queen of England to be a Roman Catholic; and (2) it settles that the Crown has no power of setting aside a law in any case whatever. The Declaration had only said that the way in which James had used such a power was unlawful.

But bitter foes rose up against the new settlement in Scotland, Ireland, and France.

CHAPTER II

SCOTLAND AND THE REVOLUTION

1 IN 1688-9 Scotland and England were still separate kingdoms. The only bond of union between them was that the king of one country was also king of the other. It was not therefore a matter of course that when James II ceased to be king of England, and William and Mary were given his place in England, he should cease to be King of Scot-

land also, and William and Mary be given his place in Scotland. It was for the Scottish people to decide whether they would follow the lead of England. But the bulk of the Scottish people were only too glad to get rid of the Stuarts. The Stuarts had tried to root out the Presbyterian religion, and had set up among them a Church which most Scotsmen disliked and many hated. In other ways, too, the later Stuart kings had deeply wronged the worthiest of their Scottish subjects, they had caused oppressive laws to be made, and had dealt harshly with those whom they disliked or feared. As soon, therefore, as the Scots heard of the overthrow of James II's rule in England, they took up arms and frightened the Scottish Council into changing sides. Then many Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, who chanced to be in London, met together and asked William to assemble a Convention of the Scottish Estates, and take upon himself the rule of the country in the meantime. William did both the things they asked, and in March 1689 the Scottish Convention came together in Edinburgh.

2 James had still some friends left him in Scotland. Chief among these was John Graham of Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, who worked hard to make a party in the Convention in favour of his old master. When he failed he rode away with fifty horsemen to his castle in Angus. The Estates at once went swiftly to work. They voted that James, by his acts of injustice and tyranny, had forfeited (*forfeited*) the throne, and was no longer king, and agreed to ask William and Mary to become King and Queen of Scotland. They also drew up a statement of the people's rights, which they called the Claim of Right, and

The Scots
rise against
James II,
1688

Scottish
Convention
meets
March
1689

Graham of
Claver
house.

William and
Mary
chosen
King and
Queen of
Scotland,
1689

told the men whom they sent to offer the crown to William and Mary to take care that the new king and queen should promise to abide by this claim as long as they reigned. This paper said that prelacy, or the rule of the Church by bishops, was unbearable, and ought to be done away with. In May the Scottish crown was offered to William and Mary on these terms. They agreed to them, and took the oath in the form which the Estates had approved of. Thus a king and a queen who had no other title to rule save what Parliament could give them were set up in Scotland as well as in England.

3 There were still Scotsmen who thought that the Estates had been over-hasty in what they had done, and there were others who felt that James was still their lawful king, and that they were bound to fight for him at all risks. Most of the chieftains of the Highland clans were of this way of thinking, and these men were able to do much mischief, for their clansmen were sure to follow them in any cause with dog-like fidelity. The Highlanders were a daring race, fond of fighting, often at war among themselves, and had usages and laws of their own.

The High
landers

Many Highland chieftains now saw reason to take up arms for James, and a war broke out which lasted for almost a year. It is true that the largest clan, the Campbells, whose chief was the Earl of Argyle, was loyal to William, but most of the other clans hated Argyle and looked upon his friends as their foes. As soon, then, as Dundee came into their country they at once gathered round him. He was just the man to lead them, being fearless and skilful, fiery in onset and wary, and he was willing to let them deal with their foes their own way. In May 1689 some thousands of armed Highlanders came together in Lochaber, Dundee put himself at their head, and civil war began.

War breaks
out in Scot
land, 1689

4. To make head against this danger General Hugh Mackay was sent from Edinburgh with a few thousand soldiers. For a time nothing was done, but late in July Mackay led his army through the wild pass of Killiecrankie. He was making for the Castle of Blau in Athol, which had fallen into Dundee's hands. But Dundee was too quick for him, Mackay's men had just reached the head of the pass, when, in the dusk of the evening, the Highland army came down upon them. There were only 2,000 Highlanders against 4,000 trained soldiers, yet so mighty was their rush that in a few minutes Mackay's army was broken in pieces. But a chance bullet smote down Dundee, and the cause of James gained nothing by the victory.

Less than a month later the shame of Killiecrankie was wiped away by the heroic defence of Dunkeld. A short time before, the Government had raised a regiment from 'the wild western Whigs,' who were such fierce Covenanters that many of them thought it sinful to fight for William, for in England William still upheld the bishops. This regiment was called 'Cameronian,' from Richard Cameron, a preacher who had been killed in the evil days. Sent as a garrison to Dunkeld, they held the cathedral of that place for four hours of the night against 5,000 Highlanders, whom they beat off at last. But their commander, William Cleland, a very brave man, was killed. Next year the last remnant of the Highland army was caught sleeping, as it lay in Cromdale on the Spey, by a force sent from Inverness, and was easily routed. This affair may be said to have ended the war in the Highlands. Forts were built to keep the clans in awe. Of these the strongest was Fort William in the west, named after the king.

5 Yet the clans which had taken part in the war still held aloof from the new Government, and William found that other means than war was needed to bring them to put themselves under his rule. He sent money to be divided among their chiefs, and let it be made known, at the same time, that he was ready to forgive all who would swear, before January 1, 1692, to be loyal to him for the future. When that day came, it turned out that all had sworn but the Macdonalds of Glencoe. Their chief, MacIan, had put off taking the oath until the latest day, and then, finding no one at Fort William who could lawfully give it to him, had to travel to Inverary in search of some one who could. Thus it happened that MacIan was not sworn until six days after the time fixed. Sir John Dalrymple, William's chief man in Scotland, wishing to strike a great fear into the Highlanders, whose lawless habits he hated, did not tell the king that MacIan had come in at last, and got William to sign a warrant giving his Scottish ministers power to root out 'that sect (*set*) of thieves,' the men of Glencoe. Accordingly, in February 1692, a band of soldiers, led by Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, marched to Glencoe, and after having lived as guests among the Macdonalds for twelve days, fell upon their hosts before dawn one morning and shot down thirty of them. The rest of the tribe, hearing the peals of musketry, rushed out of their homes into the surrounding mountains, then deep with snow. It is thought that thirty more afterwards died of cold and hunger. It was a frightful deed, and William has been greatly blamed for it, but it is hard to think that he looked forward to such a thing being done when he put his name to the warrant. Still when, some years later, the Scottish Parliament dragged the horrible thing to light, William did not punish as they deserved the men

Massacre of
Glencoe
February,
1692

who were chiefly guilty, the worst of them, Dalrymple, he only sent away from his service.

6 In the meantime the Presbyterian form of Church government had been set up again in Scotland, and henceforth there was less religious strife than before. The zealous Whigs of the west were indeed angry because the Covenant was not also set up again, but the bulk of the people were satisfied.

CHAPTER III

IRELAND AND THE REVOLUTION

1 THINGS took a very different turn in Ireland from what they had taken in Scotland. In that country the Revolution led to a long and deadly war, in which nearly the whole land had to be conquered over again by the English.

Ireland, like Scotland, was in 1688 a separate kingdom, with a Parliament of its own. But, unlike Scotland, it was not free to act for itself, its Parliament could not do what it pleased, as the Scottish Parliament could, it was generally believed in England that Ireland was nothing but an English colony, and that William and Mary became its king and queen when they were chosen to the English throne. Indeed they at once called themselves so. Most of the Irish people, however, wanted to keep James II as their king, because he had the same faith as themselves. But the English settlers, who were Protestants, were afraid of being massacred, or at least of losing their lands and power in the country, if the native Irish got the upper hand. Most of these, therefore, would have no king but William, and taking up

The native
Irish side
with James
1688-91

aims, tried to hold out against Tyrconnel, James's deputy, until help should come to them from England. They were not very successful at first, and in the beginning of 1689 had only two strong places in their hands—Londonderry and Enniskillen.

The English
settlers side
with
William

2 In March 1689 James came to Ireland from France, and set about bringing the whole land under his rule. He called a parliament to meet him at Dublin, and then went north to join his army which was marching to besiege Londonderry.

James comes
to Ireland,
1689

In this city were gathered many thousands of the English settlers who had fled from their homes through fear of the Irish. They were bent on resisting to the last, and would not listen to James, who offered to forgive them if they would yield at once. Thereupon James went back to Dublin, and the siege of Londonderry began.

This siege lasted for more than three months. Some people look upon it as the greatest siege in British history. At first the Irish sought to batter down the town with cannon, but the men inside had made up their minds to bear anything rather than give way. Then Richard Hamilton, the Irish general, tried to take the place by storm, but the men of Derry fought well, and Hamilton had to call back his soldiers. The Irish then waited quietly until want of food should force the townsmen to give in. At length, when all seemed over, three ships, sent from England, made their way up the river Fovle, on which the town is built, in spite of the Irish, and brought food to the starving people. Then the besiegers lost heart and marched away. About the same time not only was Enniskillen relieved, but its defenders attacked a large body of Irish horse near Newtonbutler, and put them to flight.

Siege of
London
derry 1689

Siege of Enniskillen,
August
1689

3 The war had now become one of races and religions. Nearly all the Protestants distrusted James, and held to William, and the Irish longed only to drive the English from the land, and get it to themselves. They did not care for James because he was their rightful king, but they fought for him because he was a Roman Catholic, and because they hoped he would give them the mastery of the country. It was patriotism, not loyalty, which made them join James. When Parliament met, it passed a bill for doing away with an Act of Settlement made in 1663, that is, for taking away from most of the English settlers the lands which that Act had secured to them. A cruel Bill of Attainder was also carried, by which 2,500 persons, whose names were given, were ordered to deliver themselves up before a certain day, on pain of losing their lands and being put to death without trial. James did not like either of these bills, but through fear of displeasing the Irish he agreed to them both. This did him much harm in England.

4 Next year, 1690, William himself came to Ireland. Landing at Carrickfergus, he at once pushed towards Dublin with 30,000 troops, many of whom were French Protestants, Germans, and Danes. During the winter King Lewis XIV of France had sent 7,000 French soldiers to aid James, yet James did not feel himself strong enough to meet his son-in-law in the open field. He therefore posted his army, in number about 30,000, on the right bank of the Boyne, near Drogheda, and there awaited William's coming. But William, on reaching the place, sent a force to cross the river six miles higher up. When James, fearing that his retreat to Dublin might be cut off, hurried with his French soldiers to meet this force, William led his main body across the

Doings of
the Irish
Parliament,
1689

William
lands in
Ireland

June, 1690.

Battle of the
Boyne,
July, 1690

river in front. The Irish horse fought well, the Irish foot badly, and William won the day. James fled back to France, and William soon entered Dublin, and put the power there into the hands of the Protestants. Then, after taking several other strong places, he led his men to Limerick, which he thought he could take very easily, and so end the war. But there was a valiant Irish general inside the city, Patrick Sarsfield, who saved it for a time. Then William went back to England (September 1690).

5 In June 1691 William's general, Ginkell, a Dutchman, renewed the war by taking Athlone before the eyes of the enemy. Then following the retreating Irish he came up with them at Aughrim. Battle of Aughrim, July, 1691 Here took place the last pitched battle of this war. The Irish were strongly posted, and for a time it seemed as if they were going to win. But their general, St Ruth, got killed by a cannon-ball, one last fierce onset was made by Ginkell's men, and the disheartened Irish broke and fled. In another month Ginkell was before Limerick, the last refuge of the native race. There was little hope of their being able to beat back their foes this time. A treaty was made in which the victors pledged themselves to let Treaty of Limerick, 1691 the Irish worship God in their own way as freely as they had done in Charles II's time, and to allow those soldiers of King James who had come from certain counties to keep the lands they had in the same king's reign. Many thousands of the Irish sailed away to France, where they entered the army of King Lewis. Ireland once more lay at the feet of the English.

6 The treaty of Limerick was not kept, though William was eager that it should be. The Irish Parliament would not be bound by it, and made law after law to take away utterly from the natives everything they

most valued To Protestants only was given any power in the State, and even those Protestants who dissented from the Church could not sit in Parliament or hold any place under the Crown The law forbade Roman Catholics to send their children to schools of their own either at home or abroad, to buy lands, to vote for members of Parliament, to keep arms, to gain lands by marrying Protestant heiresses, or to inherit lands from Protestants Roman Catholic bishops were to be banished from the country, the priests then in Ireland were allowed to stay on giving in their names to the Government, but care was to be taken that no others should come to the country Every Roman Catholic was believed to be a rebel, and Parliament wanted to make the whole Irish people Protestant Thus the Revolution was far from being a blessing to the greater part of the Irish nation

CHAPTER IV

THE WILLIAMITE WAR WITH FRANCE.

1 FROM the summer of 1689 to the summer of 1697, England was waging a fierce and costly war with Lewis XIV of France In this war the English spent more money and made greater efforts than in any previous one, but they could not help engaging in it It was part of the price they had to pay for getting rid of the Stuarts and making their freedom safe In 1689 they had to choose between a war with France or taking back James as their king

From his youth up William had been the steady foe of the French king Lewis XIV was a very unpleasant neighbour, he had a large and well-trained army, and

War with
France
1689-97

skilful generals, and often used his strength to seize lands and towns which belonged to Germany or Spain. Once indeed (1672) he had sent an army into Holland, and ever after William thought of nothing so much as how to take away Lewis's strength from him. It was this deep feeling of dislike of Lewis, and dread that his power would do lasting harm to the other States of Europe, that made William wish to overthrow James II's rule in England. He knew that so long as James was king, England would not only take no part against Lewis, but might even help Lewis against William and his friends. He also knew that there was little chance of beating France in war if England stood apart. William was of course glad to be able to save English Protestantism and freedom, but he wanted above all things to draw England into the Grand Alliance which Spain, Germany, and Holland had then formed against Lewis XIV. Lewis was well aware that this was William's aim, he was afraid that, if England were added to the number of his enemies, he might lose his lordly place in Europe. Therefore he determined to try and set James again on the English throne. Thus war with France came soon after the Revolution.

William
III and
Lewis XIV

War with
France
begins,
May, 1689

2 In this struggle England had many allies—the Empire, Spain, Brandenburg (the Prussia of our own times), and even Savoy. This array of States against France was called the Grand Alliance.

The Grand
Alliance ✓

But France was then so mighty a power, King Lewis had so many and such good soldiers, and such wise ministers and able generals, that William with all his allies was not able to do him nearly so much harm in this war as he had hoped. Indeed, most of the battles in it were won by the French. One thing very much strengthened Lewis against William—every army that

fought for him did what it was bid and at the time it was bid, whereas William could not always get the Spaniards or Germans to come to him just when he needed them. In this way Lewis was able to take fortresses from William before the smaller armies that made up William's big army could be brought together.

3 For the first two years William was so busy in England and Ireland that he had to leave the fighting on the Continent to others. At first things went ill with the English. Men in office and men in command were sometimes careless, and did not do their duty. Even at the Battle of Beachy Head, June, 1690, the English were beaten. The day before the battle of the Boyne the English and Dutch fleets under the Earl of Torrington were attacked by the French admiral, Tourville, off Beachy Head, and were forced to flee.

4 Two years later Lewis and James made a plan for landing an army in England, and beating down William in that way. They hoped that James's English friends would rise and join them, and that even the English fleet would not fight against them. They had indeed good cause to hope that this would be so, for some of William's own servants had written to James promising to help him. One of these was the chief admiral of the English fleet, Edward Russell, who had first asked William to come to England. We may be surprised to learn this, but great men in England were then very base. They thought only of themselves, and were ready to join one king or the other according as each seemed likely to prevail.

In May 1692 all was ready, 30,000 fighting men, mostly Irish, were encamped near La Hogue in Normandy, waiting to be carried over to England. Tourville then sailed out with his fleet to meet Russell. The English and Dutch at once

Battle of
La Hogue
May, 1692

Threatened
invasion of
England,
1692

closed with him, they had more ships than the French, who got beaten and made for the land. Next day the victors gave chase, and falling on the French ships burnt or sank sixteen of the biggest of them. For a time there was no more talk of invading England.

5 By land William was less prosperous. The year before he had lost Mons, this year he lost Namur, and was defeated by the French general, Luxemburg, in the hard-fought battle of Steinkirk. But William was very skilful in contriving that the loss of a battle should do the least possible harm to his army, a few days after Steinkirk he had as strong a body of troops as before, and Luxemburg dared not try to follow up his victory.

Battle of
Steinkirk.
July, 1692. ✓

Next year William was again beaten. Luxemburg, with 80,000 men, caught him with only 50,000 near the little stream of Landen, and forced him to give battle. He stubbornly withstood the onsets of the French for a long time, but had to yield ground at last. Again William soon filled up the gaps in his army, and the French gained little by their victory.

Battle of
Landen,
July, 1693. ✓

6 In 1695 the fortune of war changed. Both parties had been much weakened by the struggle, but England less than France. Death, too, had carried off Lewis's great general, Luxemburg. Accordingly when William laid siege to Namur the French were unable to drive him off, and William took the place. This retaking of Namur was the finest thing William ever did in war. It was also the last thing he did. For, though the war lingered a while longer, nothing worthy of mention was afterwards done in it. In September 1697 peace was made at Ryswick.

William
retakes
Namur
1695. ✓

By the treaty then made Lewis promised to give up helping James II to get back to the English throne,

and also agreed to look upon William as the lawful King of England. It was not a peace for Englishmen to be proud of, but at least it stopped a foreign king from trying to thrust back upon them a ruler whom most of them did not want.

Peace of
Ryswick,
1697

CHAPTER V

WILLIAM III AND HIS PARLIAMENTS

1. At no time did Parliament gain so much that it was able to keep lastingly, as in William III's reign. One little fact is enough to show what a firm hold upon power Parliament got by the Revolution. During the seven years that went before the meeting of the Convention only one Parliament was called, and that one was not allowed to sit for quite two months, whilst during the thirteen years that followed six Parliaments were chosen, and not a single year passed without the Houses being brought together, sometimes twice. Many causes worked together to make this change. (1) The Commons took care not to grant so much money to the king personally as had been granted to King James, and to make their grants for a short time only, not for the king's life, as formerly. (2) The king's wars were very costly, and he had to ask at least once a year for a great deal more money to keep up his army and navy. (3) Instead of giving these moneys in a lump, Parliament *appropriated* the supplies—that is, settled the way in which they were to be spent, setting apart so much for one thing, and so much for another. (4) The Mutiny Bill, without which the soldiers and sailors could not be made to obey their commanders, was passed for a short time only, and

Why Par-
liament
became
stronger

Parliament had to be called together to renew it (5). William had no right to be king save the right which Parliament had given him, and therefore could not afford to quarrel with it as the kings before him had done.

2 Things did not go on very smoothly between William and his parliaments. Now and then a bad feeling sprang up between them, and led more than once to a serious misunderstanding. Throughout his reign the Commons were bent on making their power felt by the king and his ministers. They looked into all the business of the State, forced the king to do many things which he disliked, made him alter things which he had already done, and weakened his power in many ways.

William did not yield to the Commons without making a stiff fight. It seemed to him hard that he, who had done so much for the people's rights, should have so many of his own rights taken from him. He would not consent to some of the bills which Parliament passed to lessen his authority. Thus he would not consent to a law for making the judges independent of him, or to a law for keeping *place-men* (men who held *places* under the Crown) out of the House of Commons, or to a law for putting an end to every Parliament three years after it had been first called—the Triennial Bill, as its name was. Yet he was made to give way on each of these at some time or other, for there was a line which William dared not pass. He never fully understood the temper of the English, and did not always act wisely. He was never altogether liked by any class of his subjects.

William
tries to
keep his
power

3 His second Parliament did not cross him so much as his first had done. It gave him a fixed income of about 1,100,000*l* a year, part of it for life, part for four years. It was also generous in voting taxes to enable him to

put large armies in the field, but in doing so was careful to see that the money raised was spent as it wished

William's second parliament 1690-93 Two of the plans it was persuaded to agree to are noteworthy. The Chancellor of the Exchequer of that time, Charles Montague, who became in later days Earl of Halifax, finding the debts of the State growing bigger and bigger from year to year, thought of having a standing debt, and laid the plan before the Commons. They agreed to it, and in this way the National Debt began. This is unlike other debts in that its interest only need be paid. When William died the National Debt had grown to 16,000,000*l*. The other plan was that a Bank should be founded, which was to have certain powers of dealing in money on condition of lending the Government 1,200,000*l*. This was the beginning of the Bank of England (1694).

4. William did not give his consent to all the laws that this Parliament passed. In 1693, 'The Bill for the frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments,' known as the Triennial Bill, fell through in this way, but in 1694 it was again passed and laid before the king. This time he agreed to it, and henceforth until the reign of George I. no king could keep a Parliament longer than three years, no matter how well pleased he was with it.

A few days after this Bill became law, Mary the Queen died of small-pox. She was a wise and amiable woman, much loved by her husband, who was deeply grieved at her death. Indeed she was a great loss to him, for the English people had always a kinder feeling for her than ever they had for her husband, and their love for her strengthened William's throne.

5. It is to this Parliament also that the English owe

the freedom of their Press. In 1694, the law which had hitherto made it unlawful for writings to be printed unless they had been read and approved of by the king's licenser came to an end. In 1695 the Commons would not let this law be renewed. After this time any Englishman might print or get printed anything he pleased. But the Courts might still punish a man very severely if he printed anything which the judges thought to be a slander upon the Government, for, until 1792, the law of libel was very harsh.

The Press
becomes
free, 1694. ✓

6 With most of the four Parliaments that came after this one, William had a great deal of trouble. His ministers were not the same as at the beginning of his reign. Nottingham, and Danby, were now gone, and their places had been given to Whigs. The worthiest of the Whigs was John Somers, Lord Keeper, who was the best lawyer then in England. But William had to change his ministers very often. The Commons would take a dislike to the highest among them, and would give the king no peace until he sent them a way. The truth is that government by party was then just beginning. If most of the Commons were Whigs, they made the king choose his ministers from among the Whigs; if most were Tories, from among the Tories. For the ministers could not get on, unless most of the Commons were ready to vote for what they wanted.

Beginning
of party-
govern-
ment.

7 In 1695 the law 'for regulating trials in cases of treason' was passed. Men charged with treason had hitherto little chance of being found not guilty, so much against them were the rules that the Courts of Law followed in trying them. They could not have skilled lawyers to defend them, those who bore witness in their favour could not strengthen their witness with an oath. The Act of 1695 did away with these unfair rules.

Henceforth men put on their trial for treason might have counsel to plead their cause, and were to have lists of the jurors and of the witnesses against them given to them some days before the day named for their trial. Moreover, two witnesses were henceforth needed to justify a jury in finding the accused guilty.

8 The same year an association was made to protect the life of King William, like the one that was made in 1584 to protect Elizabeth. Some wicked

*Association
tion Plot
and
Association
1696* men had bound themselves together to murder the king near Turnham Green as he was riding home from hunting. This plot

was found out, and the chief men engaged in it were tried and put to death. Then the Lords and Commons, all but a very few, of their own free will signed a bond in which they pledged themselves to stand by William against James and James's friends, and if harm befell William, to take signal vengeance on his murderers.

Their example was followed by the country at large, and hundreds of thousands put their names to the association. It was a grand outburst of loyalty, and made it clear that the vast bulk of the people were not Jacobites.

9 Yet for the rest of his life William had an uneasy time in England. The Commons *could* have their own way in all things, caring little how much pain their doings gave to the king. (1) William knew that war with France must soon break out again, and wished a good part of the army to be kept up. But the Commons, especially the Tories, had a horror of standing armies, and voted

*The Dutch
guards sent
away 1699* that all the troops but 7,000 should be disbanded. They went further, and said that the king must send back to Holland his Dutch guards, who came with him to England and for whom

James II died at St. Germans, and Lewis took it upon him to publicly hail James's son, James Edward, as King of England. This uncalled-for meddling in their affairs greatly enraged the English, and William seized the chance of getting rid of his troublesome Parliament. He dissolved it, and called another. Most of the members chosen to this one were well-disposed to him, and wished to work heartily with him. There was now a general eagerness for war with France, and William set briskly about getting the nation ready. To tell the story of this great war, one of the greatest in our history, will be the chief task of the next book.

James II
dies, Sept.
1701

CHAPTER VI

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

1 THE War of the Spanish Succession is so called because it was fought to decide who should succeed Charles II on the throne of Spain. We might think it mattered little to Englishmen whether the king of Spain was an Austrian or a Frenchman. But the chief desire of William's heart was to see England throwing all her strength into the struggle against the French king's greed. To gratify this desire he bore patiently with the unruly temper and thirst for power of many of his Parliaments, and allowed much of the royal authority to slip away from him. In the main he was successful, owing to his efforts England won a place in the front rank of European Powers which she has never since lost. William made England feel that

War of the
Spanish
Succession,
1702-13

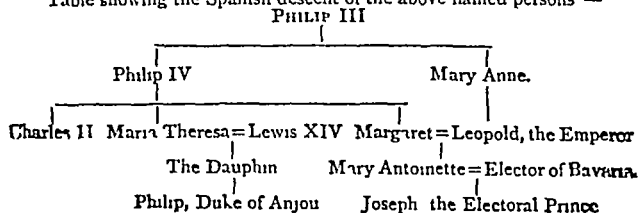
she was concerned in everything which concerned the cause of liberty in Europe

2 Moreover, England's right of settling her own affairs without foreign meddling was at stake Lewis XIV, as being an absolute prince and a Roman Catholic, had a natural feeling of enmity towards a free and Protestant State, such as England became after 1688 He hated the Revolution and longed to put it down If he had been victorious in this war, doubtless the Stuart line would have been restored to the English throne It must be borne in mind that after the passing of the Act of Settlement it became a necessary part of the new order of things, that the House of Hanover should succeed Anne in the kingship The friends of the Revolution felt that all would be lost if this arrangement were not carried out, therefore they pushed forward the war with France with the utmost earnestness So that in fighting to place an Austrian prince on the Spanish throne the English were in reality fighting for what they most cherished—national freedom

3 The war came about in this way Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Charles II of Spain was clearly drawing near his end He had no children, and his nearest of kin was the Dauphin of France Next in order of kinship came Joseph, eldest son of the Elector of Bavaria, and after him the Emperor Leopold¹ But the dauphin's

The
claimants of
the Spanish
crown

¹ Table showing the Spanish descent of the above named persons —



mother and Joseph's grandmother had, when leaving Spain, solemnly laid aside, for themselves and those who might spring from them, all claim to the Spanish crown. Nothing of the kind stood in the way of Leopold. It was the belief of some, however, that no one has power, by any words or acts, to bar his or her descendants from anything to which they may come to have a right, and that, therefore, the dauphin's claim to succeed King Charles was still a good one. Yet it was certain that, however good his claim might be, the other European States would not stand still and see the almost boundless Spanish Empire—Spain, Naples, Sicily, Milan, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Indies—go to swell the dominions of the mightiest prince of Europe, for the dauphin or his heir must sooner or later become king of France. On the other hand Lewis would be sure to oppose with all his power the union of the Spanish and Austrian dominions. William and Lewis at first thought it possible to settle the question by a friendly arrangement. In 1698 they made a treaty—the First Partition Treaty, as it is called—with each other. By this Joseph was to get the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, and the Spanish Netherlands, while some regions near the Pyrenees, Naples, and Sicily, were to go to the dauphin, and Milan to the Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. This treaty might have saved Europe from war, but a few months after it was made Joseph suddenly died, and his death spoiled the plan.

The First
Partition
Treaty,
1698 ✓

4. The two kings then tried to hit upon a new plan. Early in 1700 the Second Partition Treaty was signed. By this the Archduke Charles was to have Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies, Milan—with power to exchange it for Lorraine—was added to the dauphin's share. But this

The Second
Partition
Treaty,
1700

making of treaties all turned out wasted labour. Before the year was over Charles II died, leaving by will Spain and all the countries belonging to Spain to the Duke of Anjou, second son of the King of France, and Lewis, in utter disregard of the treaty he had signed, accepted the bequest for his grandson. Anjou at once became King of Spain as Philip V. Shortly afterwards war broke out between Lewis XIV and the Emperor (1701).

5 At first it seemed as if the King of England would have to look on and see the great game played out without him. Parliament had grown angry about the Partition Treaties, and William dared not even speak of war to it. Most of the Commons thought that, in making those treaties, the King had shown small regard for English interests, and, moreover, it was soon found out that they had been made in a way by which the rules of the Constitution had been broken. Throughout his reign William was his own minister of foreign affairs, and in arranging the terms of the first treaty had told no one of his English ministers anything about them. Somers, the Chancellor, had even put the Great Seal to a paper in which blanks were left for the names of the men who should sign for England. These and other awkward things came out, and the Commons straightway impeached Somers and three other lords. The king was so disheartened by the turn things had taken that he recognised Philip as King of Spain. He was afraid the Commons would make him do this some time or other. The Lords, however, were not of the same mind as the Commons, and cunningly contrived that the impeachment of Somers and his friends should come to nothing. The feeling of Englishmen generally was rather in favour of the course which William desired to

take, and soon the Commons themselves came to see that England must shortly join in the war. Then King James died, and Lewis took the fatal step of putting forward James's son as King of England. The nation at large felt this to be a gross insult, Tories and Whigs called loudly for war. The new Parliament passed laws of the utmost severity against the Jacobites, and heartily voted large sums for the army and navy. William went zealously to work to get the nation ready for the great struggle.

6 But William's end was now near, he did not even live to see war declared. Early in 1702 he was thrown from his horse and broke his collar-bone. He had never been a strong man, and of late his health had been growing worse. His feeble body had not now enough strength to bear up against the shock. On March 8, 1702, he died at Kensington. He was but fifty-two years old.

Death of
William,
March,
1702

William was a little, meagre man, with a thin, worn-looking face. He talked little save to his closest friends, was seldom cheerful save in battle, had a blunt way of speaking, and cared nothing for literature or art. But his heart was strong and tender, he was borne away fainting from his wife's dying bed, and a lock of her hair was found over his heart after his death. He had some grave faults, but on the whole his character was noble. He was the last of our great kings.

William's
character ✓

CHAPTER VII

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

1 THE Bill of Rights had settled who was to take the crown after William's death. Anne, second daughter of

James II, at once became queen She was thirty-seven years old, and was married to Prince George of Denmark,

Anne
Queen,
March,
1702—
August,
1714

but she was childless, though she had borne many children She was dull-witted, but kind-hearted, was easily led by anyone whom she trusted and loved, but nothing could move her when her mind was made up

For many years after her coming to the throne, almost the whole power of the State was in the hands of John

J The great
Duke of
Marl
borough
b 1650
d 1722

Churchill, whom Anne made Duke of Marlborough Churchill, the son of a Devonshire gentleman, had risen to wealth and honours by the kindness of James II, and had won fame as a soldier in the Low Countries and at Sedge-

moor But in 1688 he deserted James, and did much to make his overthrow sure He is charged with having been false to William also William, however, forgave him, took him into favour, and marked him out for high command in the coming war Marlborough was a general of wonderful skill, firmness, and daring, he had a temper that nothing could ruffle, and a rare power of working upon the minds of men But he was over-fond of heaping up riches, and is said to have cared little for anything but his wife and his own greatness This wife, Sarah Jennings, was in many ways as remarkable as himself She was a woman of great force of character and overbearing temper, but was deeply loved by her husband Indeed her husband owed his greatness largely to her, for Anne had from her early days been very fond of Lady Marlborough, and was always ready to do whatever she wished That they might talk and write to each other with greater ease Anne called her friend Mrs Freeman, and was in turn known to Lady Marlborough as Mrs Morley The Queen gave herself

up altogether to her friend's guidance, and in this way Marlborough became, on William's death, the most powerful man in England

2 Lord Godolphin, a wary and experienced statesman, was made Lord High Treasurer, then the highest Minister of the Crown. Marlborough and Godolphin were Tories, and put none but Tories into the other important posts. But after a time a change came over their views. The Tories were lukewarm in upholding the war, the Whigs warmly pressed it on, and therefore Marlborough and Godolphin, who were all for war, kept drawing farther from the Tories and closer to the Whigs. Thus, as time went on, the Tory members were every now and then dropping off from the Ministry and the Whigs were joining it, until it became altogether Whig. Almost the first act of the new Ministry was to declare war with France. Marlborough was named Captain-General of the land forces.

The
Ministry
of Lord
Godolphin,
1702-1710

War de-
clared,
May, 1702

3 England had never yet engaged in a war that spread so far and wide over the earth as this one. It was carried on at the same time in the Low Countries, in Spain, in the Mediterranean Sea, and in the West Indies. Its greatest battle was fought in Germany. But its chief scene of action was the Spanish Netherlands—the country that is now called Belgium—and the parts of France that lay near. The armies there were led by Marlborough. They were made up of men from many lands—English, Dutch, Prussians, and Hanoverians—all of whom cheerfully obeyed the great English general.

The war in
the Low
Countries

4. No grand deed of arms was done by Marlborough's army for the first two years. The French stood on the defensive, and Marlborough was much hampered by the

Dutch, who would not let him give battle when he wished. He had to rest content with taking several strongholds. But in 1704 the English captain struck a mighty blow at the power of France. Finding in that year that the French and their allies, the Bavarians, were making alarming way against the Austrians in South-western Germany, he marched his army from the Rhine to the Danube, and having joined it to the Austrian force under Prince Eugene of Savoy, came up with the French and Bavarians at Blenheim. There, on the banks of the Danube, was fought the battle which has shed its chief lustre on Marlborough's name. Tallard, the French marshal, had about 60,000, the Englishman about 50,000 men under his command. For a whole day the French held their ground manfully, driving back the Allies at almost every point. At last, in the evening, Marlborough led a general assault along the whole line, the French army was cut in two, and utterly routed. It was a crushing defeat, almost two-thirds of the beaten army were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Tallard himself fell into Marlborough's hands. The pride of Lewis XIV was humbled at last.

5 Ten days before the battle of Blenheim an English admiral gained a success which, though thought little of at the time, proved to be of vast importance. Early in August, Admiral Sir George Rooke, who had been cruising along the coast of Spain all the summer, and been able to do nothing, landed a few thousand seamen and marines near Gibraltar, and took the place with the utmost ease. This fortress was kept by the English when peace was made, and every attempt to wrest it from them again has utterly failed.

6 Next year Marlborough is again found warring in

the Low Countries, and, though he could get no chance of winning a great battle, he managed to push the French hard. But in 1706 he again overthrew their armies, at Ramillies, and nine of the strongest fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands were the fruits of the victory. Another year (1707) of comparative inactivity followed. Then, in 1708, a third grand victory was won, and the most skilfully-managed siege of the whole war brought to a triumphant close. For the French under the Duke of Vendome, having laid siege to Oudenarde, Marlborough fell upon them and drove them from their position. He then drew his army round Lille, perhaps the strongest of the strong places on the French border. The garrison of Lille was commanded by Boufflers, the general who had held Namur against William III. This siege lasted more than three months, and was watched with eager interest throughout Europe. Prince Eugene pushed forward the siege, while Marlborough kept off the French army, which lay in the neighbourhood trying hard to relieve the place. In the end Boufflers had to yield.

Battle of
Ramillies
May, 1706

Battle of
Oudenarde,
July, 1708

Siege of
Lille, Aug -
Dec, 1708

7 In the campaign of 1709 the great Duke won the last and bloodiest of his successes. The French Marshal, Villars, had entrenched his army at Malplaquet, and the allies had to carry by storm a strongly fortified position held by 90,000 stout-hearted men. They carried it, but at a frightful cost—a loss of 20,000 killed and wounded. The next two campaigns were not marked by any very striking event. But many towns were taken, and France itself was invaded. The upshot of Marlborough's fighting was, that the French were swept out of the Netherlands, their renown in war was lost, and their kingdom was drained of well-nigh all its

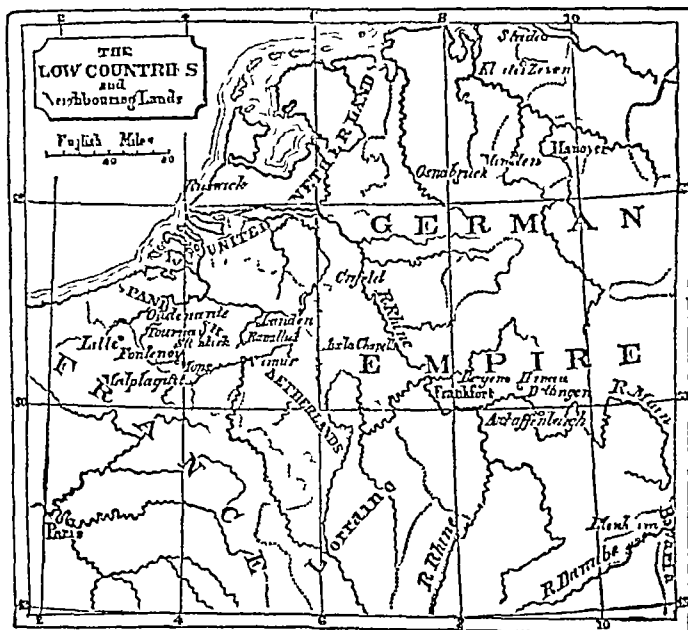
Battle of
Malplaquet,
Sept., 1709

strength

The com
mand taken
from Marl
borough
Jan 1, 1712

Not often has a great nation been brought so low as France was in this war by Marlborough. But in 1712 the great soldier was disgraced, and the Duke of Ormond was sent to take his command. How such a thing as this came to be done will be explained farther on. Ormond did nothing worth mentioning here.

8 During these years the war was going on in Spain



also There the Allies were not so successful, perhaps because they had not a general like Marlborough to lead them. In Spain an effort was made to carry out directly the chief purpose of the Allies—to dethrone Philip and set up the

The war in
Spain 1702-
1712

Archduke Charles as King And in 1705 the Archduke, calling himself Charles III, went to the country under the guard of an English fleet But most of the Spaniards favoured the French prince, and Charles never had a chance of winning the crown in this way and keeping it It is true there were some valiant deeds done by the English in Spain In 1705 the Earl of Peterborough took Barcelona with a very small force, and marched hither and thither through the eastern provinces unchecked And in 1706 the Allies, under the Earl of Galway, advanced from Portugal and entered Madrid But Peterborough's strange career soon came to an end, and not only was Galway forced to leave Madrid, but in 1707 his army was destroyed Yet this overthrow did not end the war in those parts

Defeat of
Almanza,
1707

In 1710 the French were beaten in their turn, and the Allies a second time took possession of Madrid Again

however, they found it necessary to march away from the place As they were making for the east coast, the French, led by Vendôme, overtook at Brihuega their left wing, which was English, and commanded by General Stanhope Stanhope's troops were surrounded, and after some tough fighting had to surrender themselves prisoners Next day the other Allies were more prosperous at Villa Viciosa Yet all they gained was freedom to go on to Barcelona This was the last contest of the war in Spain Already, in 1708, the English had

Battles of
Brihuega
and Villa
Viciosa,
Dec., 1708

conquered Minorca, an island which they afterwards held for seventy years In 1713 peace was made at Utrecht

Peace of
Utrecht,
1713

CHAPTER VIII

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY DURING THE WAR

1 OF Anne's reign it may be said, as a general truth, that in it the course of things which had been set going under William went on without check. In one way only did public life change after William's death—there was less strife between Parliament and the Crown, and more between Whigs and Tories. Anne was an Englishwoman, a Stuart, and a sound Churchwoman. The Tories therefore trusted her far more than they had ever trusted William, and did not seek to weaken the royal power any further. Moreover the new settlement had seemingly been made safe, Anne quietly accepted the position which the Revolution had given her, and so was allowed to enjoy a peace that had been denied to William. There was, however, great stir and noise in her time. Party spirit ran very high, and Whigs and Tories strove with each other as they had seldom striven before.

2 The Tories were not just of the same mind as they had been in the days of the Exclusion Bill. They did not now struggle to keep the Crown powerful with the same zeal as they had then shown. They not only accepted the arrangement made in 1688-9, but they upheld the authority of Parliament often with greater earnestness than the Whigs themselves. Traces of their old faith, it is true, might still be seen in them, they would rather have Anne than William on the throne, because in her title there was something of hereditary right, and those of them who went farthest in Toryism were apt to become Jacobites. But they mainly showed their Toryism by

How Anne's
reign differed
from William's

Tories and
Whigs in
Anne's
reign

being great friends of the Church, and by disliking Dissenters. They wanted to have all the power in the Commonwealth given to Churchmen alone. The Whigs, on the other hand, wished to see all Protestants made equal under the law. Moreover, in Anne's reign the Whigs were very zealous for the war from first to last, but the Tories both were not over-warm in its support at first and came to dislike it very much at last.

3. The Commons in Anne's first Parliament were mostly Tories, and in their very first session carried a law which would have made it quite impossible for any Dissenter to hold a post under the Crown. But the Lords threw out this bill, for in those days most of the Lords were Whigs. The Lords, as having so much that might be lost by a violent change, are mostly in favour of keeping things as they are, and accordingly were then in favour of the Revolution Settlement, which they thought might in the long run be upset if the Tories always had their way. The aim of this bill was to prevent *occasional conformity*, as the custom of taking the Sacrament according to the Church ritual, just to fit oneself for holding office, was called. Next year the Lords again threw it out. From this time the Tories lost ground.

Occasional
Conformity
Bill, 1702,
1703. ✓

4. The war with France was a Whig war. It was waged to carry out the plans of William, who had become the great Whig hero, and sprang from the Revolution, which had been a triumph of Whig principles. Marlborough's victories, therefore, spread a Whiggish feeling through the country, and, in 1705 a House of Commons was chosen in which Whigs had the mastery. What followed will show clearly how the new way of governing was likely to work. The Whigs were now so strong that the Ministry could not get on without them. To win them to his side Marlborough had to promise to get one of their leading men, Charles

The Whigs
gain the
mastery,
1705.

Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, raised to some high office. But Anne liked the Tories better than the Whigs, she thought she had a right to choose her own Ministers, and for a time would not hear of a place being given to Sunderland, though he was the husband of Marlborough's daughter. Marlborough knew how necessary it was that what the Whigs asked should be done, and eagerly pressed it on. But the queen was most unwilling, and yielded only to Marlborough's earnest prayers. In December 1706 Sunderland was made Secretary of State. In 1708 the same struggle took place again on a larger scale. The general election of 1708 having again given the Whigs a majority in the Commons, the other

The Minis-
try be
comes
altogether
Whig 1708

Whig leaders—the Whig Junto, as they were called, of whom the Lords Somers and Wharton were the chief—demanded to be taken into the Government. Marlborough, knowing the dislike of Anne to the Whigs, held out for a long time against them, but they made things so unpleasant, and there was so much dread that they would use their strength to work mischief to the Queen's friends, that Anne had at last to give offices to Somers and Wharton. Then the Ministry became purely Whig.

5 The most noteworthy change of Anne's reign was the Union of England and Scotland, the blending together

England
and Scot-
land 1700

of the two kingdoms and two parliaments into the Kingdom and Parliament of Great Britain.

When one looks at what was then going on in the two countries one is rather surprised that such a good thing should have been brought about at that time. For never since Englishmen and Scotsmen had fallen under the sway of the same king had Scottish hearts been so filled with rage against England as in the first few years of the eighteenth century. England, the Scots said, was working them great and lasting wrongs, and they

would never forgive her. There was too much reason for what the Scots said. Many Englishmen were very selfish and greedy, and could not bear that their kinsfolk in Scotland and Ireland should share in the pursuits which brought them wealth. These men, merchants of the great seaport towns of England, had so worked upon Parliament that heavy taxes were laid on all products of Scotland which were carried into England. Scotsmen were not allowed to trade with any country belonging to England, or with England in anything but what was grown or made in Scotland. Their anger at finding their hands tied up by English greed was yearly growing more bitter. In 1699-1700 a plan which they had tried to carry out, for planting a trading settlement at Darien had come to a disastrous end. Its failure brought ruin on a vast number of Scottish families. The Scots cast the blame on the English East India Company and on King William, and their wrath against England rose higher than ever. After William's death the Scottish Parliament passed an Act of Security, by which it was made impossible that the same person who had already been chosen to sit on the English throne after Anne died should be chosen to the Scottish throne also, unless security were given for the 'religion, freedom, and trade' of the Scots. This law made it possible that at Anne's death the two kingdoms should pass to different kings.

The Darien
Scheme,
1699-1700

Act of
Security,
1703, 1704

6 To the danger arising from this state of things we owe the Act of Union. The wiser men in England now saw clearly that nothing short of a thorough blending of the two peoples into one would put a stop to their quarrelling, and, to gain this, were willing to give the Scots all they wanted. The very last paper that William signed was a message to his English Parliament asking it to consider how such a union could be brought about.

feelings, and the breach between them went on widening until at last Anne had come to hate her friend as much as she had formerly loved her. One Mrs Masham, once a bedchamber-woman to the Queen, had already taken the Duchess's place in Anne's affections. The upshot of these changes was, that in the summer of 1710 the Queen sent away her chief Whig Ministers, and gave the guidance of the nation to Robert Harley and Henry St John

The Harley
St John
Ministry
1710-1714

CHAPTER IX

THE TORY MINISTRY AND THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

1 THIS daring act of Anne's—the turning away of her Ministers—helps us to see plainly the working of the altered Constitution. The Whig leaders had been able to win office in 1708 merely because most of the Commons thought as they did, and were ready to vote as they wished. The Queen had now a strong hope that the members of the new Parliament would be mostly Tory, and, relying on that hope, had sent away her Whig Ministers and taken Tories in their places. She was not disappointed, most of the new members *were* Tories, and she was able to keep Harley and St John. But it is certain that, if it had turned out otherwise, she could not have kept these Ministers, and would have been forced to bring back Godolphin, Somers, and Halifax.

2 Harley, who was made in 1711 Earl of Oxford and St John, who was made in 1712 Viscount Bolingbroke, ruled England for nearly four years. During this time the war of parties never ceased. The great writers of the day took part with one side or

Party go-
vernment

Party strife ✓

the other, each doing his utmost to make people believe that his party was right and the other wrong. The stoutest champion of the Tories in this way was Jonathan Swift, better known as Dean Swift, because in 1713 he became Dean of St Patrick's Church in Dublin. Swift had once been a Whig, but in 1710 had gone over to the Tories. He wrote for the Tories with all his might, and being the greatest genius then living, did a great deal by his writings to spread a Tory feeling throughout the country. The ablest writers on the Whig side were Joseph Addison, a most graceful author and amiable man, and Sir Richard Steele, an honest but somewhat hot-headed Irishman. Men had not then the same means of reading speeches made in Parliament as they have now, for it was very difficult to get any account of a Parliamentary debate, and unlawful to print it if it were got. Yet even then it was an important thing for a statesman to be thought well of by the people, and the only way he had of winning a good name was either to write himself, or to get others to write, in favour of his opinions.

3. The clergy and the country gentlemen were zealous for the Tories, the large towns and trading classes heartily upheld the Whigs. The Tories charged the Whigs with trying to destroy the Church, their cry was that the 'Church was in danger'. The Whigs charged the Tories with wishing to undo the Act of Settlement, their cry was that 'the Protestant succession was in danger'. Whilst Anne lived the Tories were the stronger party, for most Englishmen loved the Church and sent Tories to Parliament. There was, it is true, no general desire for a second Restoration, but the country thought there was little fear of this, and the cry of the Whigs did not frighten them.

Swift
Addison,
Steele

The Whigs
and the
Tories

4. But the point that Whigs and Tories fought most about was the making of peace with France. The Whigs wanted the war to go on until Philip should be driven from the throne of Spain and King Lewis should grant all that the Allies asked. The Tories wanted to have the war ended at once, and were willing both to allow Philip to stay on the Spanish throne and to let Lewis off very easily. The Whigs said that if the Kings of France and Spain both belonged to the same family they would always take part with each other in wars, and it would not be easy for the other States to hold their own against them. The Tories said that if Charles became King of Spain the House of Austria would be as dangerous to the quiet of Europe as the House of Bourbon, for in 1711 Charles had been chosen Emperor. The Tories, too, were against the war, because it was a Whig war, and success in it had always given strength to the Whigs. They resolved, therefore, to have peace. But they went about getting it in a very bad way. Some years before Lewis had become so humble from the many beatings his armies had got that he offered not only to cease helping his grandson, but also to supply the Allies with money to wage war against him. These offers had not satisfied the Allies, the war had gone on, and many more losses had befallen Lewis in it. But now Harley and St John secretly sent a messenger to Lewis to ask if he would agree to a peace. Peace was the thing that Lewis longed for most, but finding that the English Ministers also were so eager for it, he did not now offer to yield what before he had been willing to yield. His grandson, he now said, must be left on the Spanish throne. There was much stealthy going to and fro of messengers between England and France, and at length the rulers of the two nations came to an understanding with each other. But not a

How the
peace of
Utrecht was
made,
1711-13

word of these doings was told to the Dutch or the Emperor, though as the allies of England they had a right to know everything that was going on. And when at last the English Ministers did tell the Dutch, they showed them a different treaty from the one that had been drawn up by them and Lewis. In 1712 they took away the command of the army from Marlborough, separated the English army from the Allies, and privately settled with Lewis a plan for carrying on the war that year.

5 Next year the Peace they so wished for was signed at Utrecht. Philip was to keep the Spanish throne, but was to swear that he gave up all claim or to become King of France. Lewis XIV pledged himself to have nothing more to do with James Edward, now known in England as the Pretender, and to recognise the Protestant succession to the English Crown. England was to have Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, and trading rights with the Spanish settlements. The Dutch were given a strong line of fortresses to guard their border, and the House of Austria got the Spanish Netherlands and Naples. This has been called 'the shameful Peace of Utrecht,' partly because of the way in which it was made, and partly because nothing was done in it to save the Catalans from the vengeance of Philip, though these had risen in arms at the bidding of the Allies.

6 Anne lived little more than a year longer. This was a very anxious time for Englishmen. The Queen's health was bad. Oxford and Bolingbroke were thought to be planning to overthrow the Act of Settlement and bring in the Pretender. The Jacobites were believed to be busy hatching plots for having James Edward made King when Anne died. The Tories had seemingly the greater number of the people on their side, for in 1713 a new

The last
year of
Anne's
reign
1713-14

Parliament was chosen, in which most of the Commons were again Tories. But one thing crippled the strength of their party very much—their chief men, Oxford and Bolingbroke, had come to hate each other, and very often had angry quarrels. These statesmen were opposite to each other in character, Oxford's temper was dull and sluggish, Bolingbroke's was active and bold. Neither, however, was thought to have much regard for truth or honesty, and each narrowly watched the other, eager to take advantage of any blunder he might make to do him an injury. In July 1714 Bolingbroke contrived to poison the Queen's mind against his rival, and Oxford was turned out of office. But it was too late for Bolingbroke to gain anything by the change, Queen Anne dies, August 1, 1714 three days later Anne died. The day before her death she had named the Duke of Shrewsbury, a nobleman who had been active in bringing about the Revolution, Lord High Treasurer. Shrewsbury was a Whig, and his appointment was a kind of pledge that plots to bring back the Pretender, if there were such, would be crushed.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

I THE Electress Sophia had died two months before Queen Anne, and the right of succession to the English Crown had then passed to her son, George, Elector of Hanover. Accordingly on August 1, 1714, George became King of England as George I. George I King, 1714-27 Much fear had been felt throughout the country that the Jacobites would try to hinder his coming to the

throne, but it turned out quite otherwise—no one dared even to raise his voice for the Pretender. Indeed most people showed great joy when they heard the new king proclaimed. In foreign lands also George was looked upon as the true King of England, even Lewis of France kept the promise that he had made in the Treaty of Utrecht.

2 George came to England about seven weeks after Anne's death. As soon as he came the Tory Ministers were sent away, and their places given to Whigs. For George did not try, like William, to allow each party a share in governing, he thought that the Whigs, who had always been in favour of his title, were likely to be more faithful to him than the Tories. Of course, if the Commons had wished very much that the Ministers should be Tories, they would have made the King take Tories. But the new House of Commons, which was chosen a few months afterwards, had many more Whigs than Tories, and the King was able to keep the Ministers he liked. The foremost man in the new Ministry was Charles, Lord Townshend, but General Stanhope and Robert Walpole were also very powerful members of it. Walpole had rare skill in finding out the best way of settling questions about money, and thus made himself very useful to his party.

3 In 1715 the quiet of the land was broken in two ways. First, the new Ministers were so angry at what had been done during the last four years of Anne's reign that they stirred up Parliament to take steps to punish the fallen leaders of the Tories. They tried to make out that Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond had been guilty of treason in yielding up to Lewis in the late war more places than they need have done. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to France, but Oxford was not easily frightened, and stayed

Whig
Ministry
formed
1714

The late
Ministry
attacked.

at home They were all impeached, and bills of attainder were also passed against Bolingbroke and Ormond Oxford was sent to the Tower, where he lay for two years In 1717 he was brought to trial, but in the meantime Walpole had fallen out with the other leading Whigs and lost office, and now, to spite his old friends, he cunningly contrived that the Commons should not come forward to prove the charges they made against Oxford The Lords, therefore, voted that Oxford was not guilty Bolingbroke, soon after reaching France, openly joined the Pretender, but in a short time gave up his cause as hopeless, and in 1723 he was allowed to come back to England But Ormond never came back, he died abroad in 1745

4. Secondly, there were Jacobite risings both in Scotland and in England Early in September John Erskine, Earl of Mar—who some years before had been a Whig and helped to bring about the Union—raised the standard of rebellion in Braemar, and in a short time found himself in command of a large Highland army But Mar was very slow in his movements, and lingered for six weeks in Perth The Duke of Argyle, famous as both a warrior and a statesman, was sent from London to deal with this danger, and going to Stirling, used the time which Mar was wasting in gathering round him soldiers and loyal Lowlanders

The Jacobites take up arms, 1715 ✓

While things stood thus in the far north a few hundred Jacobites took up arms in Northumberland under Mr Forster and Lord Derwentwater Joining with some Southern Scots raised by Lord Kenmure, and some Highlanders whom Mar had sent to their aid, they marched to Preston, in Lancashire

The fate of the two risings was settled on the same day At Preston the English Jacobites and their Scottish allies had to give themselves up to a small body of

soldiers under General Carpenter At Sheriffmuir, about eight miles north of Stirling, the Highlanders, whom

Affair of
Preston,
1715

Mar had put in motion at last, met Argyle's little army in battle, and, though not utterly beaten, were forced to fall back to Perth

Fight at
Sheriffmuir,
1715

There Mar's army soon dwindled to a mere handful of men Just when things seemed at the worst the Pretender himself landed in

Scotland But he altogether lacked the daring and high spirit needful to the cause at the time, and his presence at Perth did not even delay the end, which was now sure Late in January 1716 Argyle's troops started from Stirling northwards, and the small Highland force broke up from Perth and went to Montrose Thence James Edward and Mar slipped away unnoticed, and sailed to France, and the Highlanders scampered off to their several homes Of the rebels that were taken prisoners about forty were tried and put to death, and many were sent beyond the seas Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded, the other leaders of rank either were forgiven or escaped from prison

5 These risings were followed by an important change in an important law The people were in a rest-

less state, and it was feared that trouble might befall the country if a new Parliament were chosen which would be unfavourable to the

✓ Septennial
Act passed,
1716

Ministry A bill was therefore passed to enable the King to keep the same Parliament for seven years, and in passing it care was taken that it should apply to the Parliament that then was, which thus might last till 1722 This bill, which is called the Septennial Act, is in force still

6 The Whigs now became stronger than ever But shortly afterwards Townshend and Stanhope quarrelled upon a grave question of foreign policy, and a split took

place in the Whig party which weakened it much for a time. Townshend and Walpole not only ceased to be Ministers, but also did their utmost to thwart Stanhope and Sunderland, who now held the first place in the King's counsels.

The Whig
Schism,
1717

The question about which the Whig leaders fell out was the right way of forming the Triple Alliance. This treaty, which England, France, and Holland made with one another in 1716-17, gave England great power abroad, and did much to strengthen the hold of the Hanoverian family on the English Crown. It seems strange to find the rulers of England and France, who had lately been such deadly foes, now linked together in a close friendship. But each had an interest in making a friend of the other. In France Lewis XIV had died, his great-grandson, a mere child, had become King, and the Duke of Orleans, who was next heir to the crown if the King of Spain should be true to the pledge he had taken by the Treaty of Utrecht, held the Regency. But the Duke feared that the Spanish king would not keep his promise, and thought it would be a good thing to have England on his side, to help him if the boy-king died. In England, Stanhope felt that France was the only foreign state that could give any real aid to the Pretender, and thought it would be a good thing if France could be brought to take part with the Hanoverian family. Thus it came about that an alliance was made between the two countries, by which their rulers agreed to stand by each other in any troubles that might arise. The Dutch also afterwards signed this treaty (January 1717).

The Triple
Alliance,
1716-17

7 This alliance gave England and France a proud position in Europe. It was now the aim of Stanhope and Orleans to make the other nations abide by the terms of the Peace of Utrecht. They would not let the quiet of

Europe be broken by any country In 1718 the Emperor Charles joined the Alliance, for the King of Spain wanted to take Sicily from him, and sent an army thither for the purpose Thereupon an English fleet under Sir George Byng attacked the Spanish near Cape Passaro, and beat it thoroughly Next year (1719), French and English armies began to make war in the North of Spain, and took some strong places Then King Philip yielded, and consented to a peace in which he gave up everything that he had laid claim to (1720) From these things we see how mighty England had become

8 For a time all went well at home also In 1720 Stanhope made up his quarrel with Townshend and Walpole, and the Whigs became a united party once more For Walpole had shown how dangerous he might be, by causing the Commons to throw out the Peerage Bill, which Stanhope wished to see passed This was a bill for taking away from the King the power of making any more peers than six over the number that then was Townshend and Walpole again became Ministers But soon after their return to office there came a time of great distress for many people Some years earlier a company had been founded for trading with the South Seas It grew and prospered, it often had dealings with the Government, and in 1720 its shares had risen to ten times their original value An eager desire to get rich very fast then spread throughout the country, a great many other companies were set up, and men bought shares in these greedily and thoughtlessly Soon a change of feeling came, men got frightened about the money they had laid out in this way, and all tried at once to sell their shares, but no one was willing to buy them Hence

Battle of
Cape
Passaro,
1718

Whig
Schism
ends 1720

The Peer
age Bill,
1719

The 'South
Sea
Bubble

not only did the new companies fail, but the South Sea shares also fell very low. A loud cry of distress was raised by those who had lost their money, and all men were deeply enraged when they heard that some of the Ministers had taken bribes from the South Sea Company. In the midst of this trouble Stanhope suddenly died. It was thought that Walpole was the only man who knew how to help the people in this misfortune, so he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. He carried laws through Parliament which did much to calm men's minds and revive their faith in one another's honesty. The nation then saw that Walpole was the ablest man the King had, and upon the death of Sunderland, in 1722, Walpole became Prime Minister.

Death of
Stanhope,
1721

CHAPTER XI

THE MINISTRY OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE

1 ROBERT WALPOLE was a Norfolk squire of good family, who had gained sound judgment and rare skill in the conduct of affairs. He was clear-headed and practical, and was just the man that England wanted at this time. A calm had followed the great storms caused by the Revolution, and the country felt a general longing for a little rest. Now, Walpole wished above all things to give the nation rest. He tried with all his might to keep England from going to war, and to help her to make herself rich and prosperous. But he never thought of doing great deeds, of doing away with unjust laws and getting just ones made, of setting right some of

Robert
Walpole
b 1676,
d 1745

Walpole's
character
and policy

the many evil things that then were, or of helping men to grow wiser and better. Indeed, he believed that most men neither were, nor could be made, good, his opinion of men was so low that he thought they would do anything for money. 'Every man has his price,' he said. There was little in him to love or respect. But he had much good sense, and knew well how to work on men's minds. It was not a time for carrying out great plans, the people were not in a humour for them, and were quite content to be ruled by Walpole. And they were right, for on the whole things went well with England during the twenty years that Walpole was Prime Minister.

2 Perhaps Walpole would not have been so long at the head of affairs but for the cunning way in which he

✓ The Constitution in the eighteenth century

managed the Commons. We have seen how necessary it was for the King or his chief

Minister to get most of the members of the Lower House to give him their votes. Walpole, partly because the state of things favoured him, and partly because he was very clever in managing public assemblies, got members to vote with him better than any minister who had lived before him. For the ways in which men gained seats in Parliament were very different then from what they are now. Many of the towns that had the right of sending representatives were mere villages, and in many others, though they were larger, there were only very few people who had a vote. It had therefore come to pass that the noblemen or gentlemen who

'Nomination boroughs'

owned the lands on which these towns stood could have whatever members they liked chosen for these places. Besides, the great

landowners had often such influence in the counties that the voters in these were willing to please their landlord's or noble neighbours by voting for the persons whom they favoured. There was also a class of boroughs, chiefly

seaports, which were quite ready, to give their votes to whomsoever the King or his Ministers desired. It is clear, then, that most of the Commons were not representatives of the people, but of the King's Ministers and other great men of the kingdom.

3 In this way it came about that the Revolution, in making the House of Commons the strongest thing in the State, gave the leading part in ruling the nation to a number of great families. These ^{The Revolution} are known in history as the *Revolution families*, or *great Whig houses*, for most of them belonged to the Whig party. For a long time it would have been almost impossible to carry on the Government without the active support of a good number of these houses, and their support could be gained only by giving the chief men among them a large share in governing. It is true that the King had still some power, he could give away posts of great dignity and value in Church and State, pensions, peerages, and other honours that many men were glad to have. But the first two Kings of the line of Hanover were strangers, neither of them knew much of English ways or English feeling, and did not care to take any trouble to keep up the King's power. Accordingly the heads of the great houses generally had their own way. We shall see that the third King of the line did make a great effort to win back to the Crown the authority, it had lost, and succeeded too.

4 For twenty years Sir Robert Walpole was able by wise management to keep on his side both most of the Whig Houses and the King, and thus to get the Commons to vote in the way he wished on every question that came before them. ^{Walpole's mastery over the Commons} Moreover, he is believed to have paid away great sums of money in bribing Members. He was not the first to use this means of gaining votes; but he is said to have

used it much more than any other minister ever did. It was begun in Charles II's reign, and first became common in William III's time, when the good-will of the Lower House was seen to be so needful to the King's Ministers.

5 But we must not think that the King's Ministers need pay no heed to the wishes of the people. Walpole himself was more than once forced to give up his own will and do what the nation bade him, even when Parliament would have cheerfully agreed to the course he wanted to take. Only the people had to speak out very strongly, and show that they were really in earnest, and *would* have the matter settled in the way they thought right. They were seldom, however, very much in earnest then about anything, for a time they cared very little how things went on in the State.

6 Few very noteworthy things happened while Walpole ruled England. So long as George I lived this Minister ran little risk of losing his place, and was able to deal in a high-handed way with each question as it arose. In 1722 the Jacobites tried to make themselves troublesome, but failed, and next year their leader, Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was banished for life by Act of Parliament. In 1724 the English settlers in

Ireland flew into a great rage because Walpole began to issue among them a new supply of halfpence and farthings, made by William Wood, an English ironmaster. They said that these coins were far below the value of similar coins in England, and that they were issued only to enrich Wood and some worthless people about the English Court. Dean Swift, who owed Walpole a grudge, wrote with great force against this coinage, and so worked upon the minds of his countrymen that they would not receive it on any

✓ Wood's
halfpence,
1723-4

terms Walpole, powerful as he was, had to allow the coinage to be withdrawn. Then in 1725 Spain, wishing to get back Gibraltar, made an alliance with Austria, and went to war with England. But none of these things shook Walpole's hold on power in the least. So quiet had things become that in the session of 1724 there was but one division in the Commons.

7 In June 1727 the reign of George I suddenly ended. He had gone to visit his German subjects, and was on his way to Osnabrück, when apoplexy seized him, and he died in his carriage. George I was an upright man, who sought to deal justly with all men, and was much loved in Hanover. But he was silent, awkward, and cold in his manner, and was little liked in England. His son at once became King as George II. The new king at first thought of sending Walpole away, but in a few days he changed his mind and kept him in office.

Another
war with
Spain
1725-27

Death of
George I,
June 1727
George II
King 1727-
1760

8 England and France were still fast friends, for Walpole was bent on keeping the country out of war, and above all out of a war with France. This, he knew, was the only nation that could help the Pretender in a way that would make him really dangerous, without aid from France the Jacobites were harmless, and could do little mischief. For many years, therefore, the Pretender, owing to Walpole's wisdom, was unable to move, and thus the new line of kings had time to strengthen themselves on the throne.

Friendship
with
France

9 But Walpole failed in one thing which he had set his heart on getting done. In 1733 he brought a bill into Parliament for levying the duties on certain goods, tobacco being the first, not as *customs*—which are paid at the seaports, when the goods are brought into the country—but as *excise*, which

The Excise
scheme,
1733

is paid when the goods are sent throughout the country. He said that it did not cost so much to raise an excise, that men could not keep back or steal part of it so easily, and that thus more money would come into the treasury, while the people paid just the same. But most English folk then hated the excise, the very word put them in an ill-humour. A loud outcry against Walpole's plan went up from all parts of the country, and Walpole, much against his will, gave it up.

10 But this did not weaken Walpole, both King and Parliament still upheld him, and for a while longer the people also rested contentedly under his rule. Year after year passed, leaving Walpole still at the head of affairs, as strong as ever to work his will. But he had made one great mistake in his doings. He had always been jealous of able men, and had driven away most of those who had been in office with him. There was hardly one man of merit in his Government whom he did not get rid of at some time or other. Even Townshend had to resign his place. This unwise conduct hurt Walpole in two ways: it chased away from his side the men who were best fitted to help him in the hour of need, and it sent them to join the ranks of his foes. Thereupon this band of ^{Walpole's} ^{jealousy of} ^{able men} foes, who called themselves *the Patriots*, went on steadily growing until nearly every able statesman belonged to it. Its leader in the Commons was William Pulteney, a brilliant speaker, who had once been Walpole's trustiest friend. But the man among the Patriots who had the greatest gifts of mind and noblest character was a young man, William Pitt, who first made himself known by his fiery speeches in Parliament against Walpole. Seldom has a Minister had so many great men arrayed against him.

11 Yet for many years Walpole held his ground in

spite of them all They brought many charges against him They said that, to please the King, he ^{Walpole} took more pains about Hanover than England, ^{and his foes} that he was tamely letting Spain trample upon the honour and the interests of England, that he was destroying the manly tone and honesty of the nation by his wicked arts bribery and corruption. On these points they assailed him again and again, but for a time without success Single handed Walpole withstood them, and beat them in every division. Indeed, once (1739) they got so disheartened that they left Parliament altogether At last a great longing for a war with Spain seized upon the people, and the Patriots turned this into a means of overthrowing their great enemy

12 At this time fresh life was given in England to the old hatred of the Spaniards by the cruelties which English seamen were said to be suffering at ^{Troubles} Spanish hands in the Southern Seas Spain did ^{with Spain.}

not like that any country but herself should trade with her colonies in America, and very unwillingly allowed a single English ship to carry goods to them once a year But the English found the traffic profitable, and in one way or another contrived to send to Spanish America far more goods than one ship could carry For a time the Spaniards took little heed of these things, but in 1733 their King secretly made an alliance, called a Family Compact, with the French King, and after this the American coasts were more closely watched English ships that sailed or were driven by opposing winds into their seas were boarded and searched by Spanish officials, who often did their duty very roughly One of them even tore off the ear of Robert Jenkins, the master of a Jamaica trading sloop Hence the war that these doings led to is

sometimes known as 'the Jenkins' Ear War' ^{'The Jenkins Ear War'} The English grew more and more angry as ^{War} they heard of these things, and at last began to call

CHAPTER XII

THE PELHAMS

1 THE Ministry that followed Walpole's was not altogether made up of new men, many of those who held the smaller places stayed in office after the fall of ^{The new} *their leader* In those days the Ministers did ^{Ministry} not form a close and united body, as they do now Each sometimes took a course of his own apart from the rest, so that a change of Ministry often meant little more than a change of leaders The man who now took the first place in guiding the counsels of the King was John, Lord Carteret, but Lord Chancellor Hardwicke and the Pelhams, who stayed with Walpole to the last, were still very powerful Indeed, only a few of Walpole's foes were taken into the new Cabinet There was much discontent at this, and the Ministry was not at first very strong in the Commons

2 Carteret was much liked by George II He had good parts, was gay and genial in society, but over-fond of strong drink He was the only Minister who knew German and the right way of dealing with German States He therefore led the nation into a closer connexion with German affairs than pleased either his brother Ministers or the Commons Without asking ^{Carteret in power, 1742-44} their advice he made treaties, and pledged the English people to give away large sums of money So whilst he rose ever higher in the King's favour he became unpopular In November 1744 the Pelhams and their friends told the King plainly that they and Carteret—now Earl Granville by his ^{Fall of Carteret, 1744} mother's death—could not any longer work together, and that either he or they must give up office. The King would gladly have kept Granville rather than

the Pelhams, but the Pelhams had many more followers in the Commons than their rival, and the King had to send away the Minister he liked best. For without a majority in the Commons no Minister could now get on.

3 The Pelhams were the Duke of Newcastle and his younger brother, Henry. The Duke was a fussy man, who bustled about in a way that made people laugh. He had much knowledge of business, but little ability. Henry Pelham was in every way superior to his brother, though his powers of mind were not great. He did not shine either as a speaker or as a ruler, but he was hard-working, sensible, and clear-headed, and his training under Walpole had given him some skill in managing affairs. For these reasons he was in 1744 placed at the head of the Ministry. This has been called *the broad-bottom Ministry*, from the number of men of various parties who belonged to it. Even Tories held places in it. But its chief strength lay in the support of the great Whig houses, many of whose heads were members of it. On one point only did George II stand firm: he would not take Pitt into his service, as the Pelhams wished. For Pitt had in his speeches spoken of Hanover in a way that had deeply hurt the King. Yet in little more than a year George had to yield on this point also. In February 1746 the Ministers,

knowing that the King was listening in private to Granville's advice, and was therefore not trusting them, suddenly gave up their places in a body. Granville then tried to get together a Ministry of his own, but failed, and the King had to take back the Pelhams on their own terms. One of these was that Pitt should have a place, and he was appointed, first to a minor post, afterwards to that of Paymaster of the Forces. The great families could now make the King do what he most disliked.

Ministerial
crisis of
June 1746

Pitt in office.

4. By this time England had been drawn into a war with France. It is usually called the War of the Austrian Succession. England joined in it as the ally of Maria Theresa, whose title to the ancestral dominions of her father, the Emperor Charles VI, was disputed by Bavaria, France, Prussia, and other States. Charles, having no son, had been eager that his daughter should succeed to the rule of the lands that had come to him by inheritance, and, to make her succession sure, had got nearly all the European Powers to sign a paper called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, by which they bound themselves to uphold her claim. But when he died (1740) the Elector of Bavaria said that by right the Austrian lands ought to come to him, and set about conquering them, whilst Frederick II, the young King of Prussia, laid hold of Silesia, and France, wishing to weaken Germany, sent two armies across the Rhine to aid Bavaria. Only England and Holland loyally stood by their promises.

The War of
the Austrian
Succession,
1740-48

In 1743 a united force of British and Hanoverians, 40,000 strong, marched to Aschaffenburg, on the river Main. King George himself came and took the command. Whilst they lay at this place, Noailles, the French general, blocked them up so closely that they could move neither forward nor backward without fighting a battle under great disadvantages. At last their supply of food became scanty, and one morning, late in June, they started back along the right bank of the Main, hoping to force their way to Hanau, where their bread-stores were. As they drew near to Dettingen they found that there was a French force posted right in front of them on the far side of some marshy ground. Whilst they were putting themselves in battle-array the leader of this French force, Grammont, getting impatient, led his men across the marshy ground

Battle of
Dettingen,
June 1743

and charged down on the Allies with great swiftness. Their first three lines were broken through, but the fourth held its ground, and poured such a steady musketry fire into the ranks of the French that they had to fall back in disorder. Then the Allies pushed boldly on, and routed and drove the French from the field. The victors then pursued their march to Hanau. The Allies gained nothing but glory from the fight of Dettingen. Never since has an English king led an army in battle.

5 As yet the two nations were not at war, England merely fought as the friend of Maria Theresa, France as the friend of the Bavarian Elector, who had been chosen Emperor the year before. But in 1744 the French took up the Stuart cause and tried to land 15,000 men on the English coast. A storm scattered the fleet that carried them, and a declaration of war followed. This war was waged chiefly in Flanders, where the Allies were led by King George's younger son, the Duke of Cumberland. Its greatest battle was fought at Fontenoy in May 1745. Cumberland had advanced with 50,000 British, Dutch, and Austrians, to drive the French besieging army from before Tournay. Prince Maurice of Saxony, the French leader, had taken his stand near Fontenoy, and there thrown up strong defences. Cumberland, then a hot-headed youth, made his troops attack these, but they were beaten back at all points. Angry at this repulse, the English general sent a column of British Infantry, 16,000 strong, straight upon the French position. This fearless body of men marched steadily whither they had been sent, and, getting inside the French lines, for a time swept from their path every force that strove to check their course. But they were not backed up as they ought to have been, and they had to march back the way they came, beaten but not disgraced. Then Cumberland led off his army, and

Battle of
Fontenoy,
May, 1745

Tournay fell Shortly afterwards the Duke was called back to England to face danger nearer home

6 The war with France had given fresh life to the dying Jacobite cause And there had lately come forward as the leader of this cause a high-spirited young prince, of handsome person and winning manners, who believed it was his fate to win back the kingdoms to his house

Charles
Edward
Stuart
comes to
Scotland,
1745 ✓

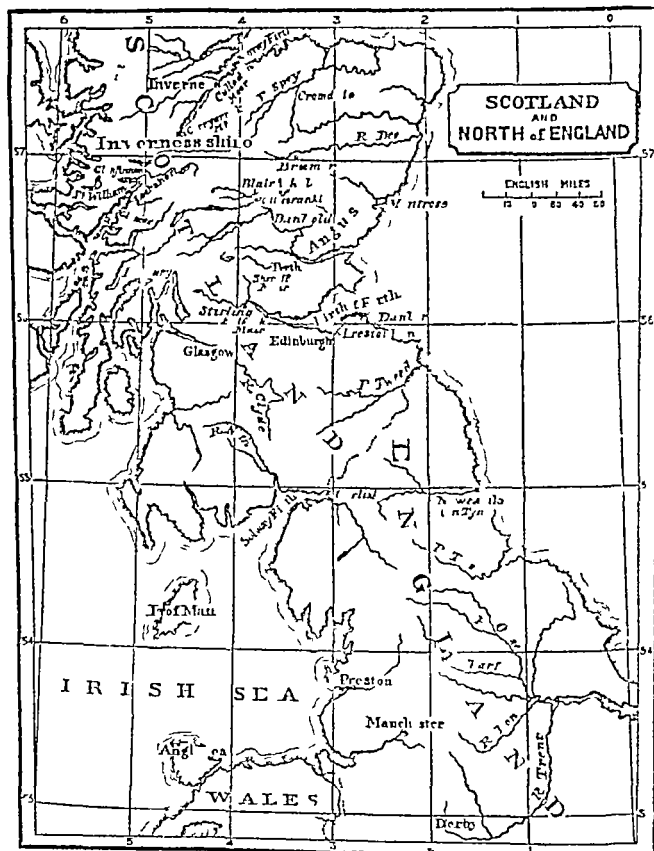
This was Charles Edward, sometimes named the Young Chevalier, the elder of the two sons of James Edward Towards the end of July 1745 he came with only seven companions to the west coast of Inverness-shire, and sought to stir up the Highlanders to take up arms in his father's behalf The Highland chiefs doubted at first, but many of them were won over by Charles's eager words Gathering at Glenfinnan, the clans swept round by Corryarrick and Blair Athol to Perth Sir John Cope had gone northwards with a small force to meet them, but on reaching Corryarrick had become afraid, and turned aside to Inverness The road to the Lowlands then lay open, and Charles promptly took it In the third week of September the Highlanders entered Edinburgh Three days later the Prince led them westwards to meet Cope's army, which had sailed to Dunbar They found it near Preston Pans, and in a single rush almost destroyed it.

Bight of
Preston
Pans, 1745

Returning to Edinburgh, Charles stayed there for six weeks, and then started for England He had now about 6,000 men under his command Taking the Western road, his troops went steadily on until they entered Derby There they paused, and though Charles was himself full of hope and burned to push on to London, the chiefs resolved to go back to Scotland Few English

The march
to and from
Derby,
October-
December,
1745

had joined them, and they were disheartened. On their way back they beat a body of soldiers that overtook them



at Clifton, in Cumberland. On the day before Christmas they marched into Glasgow. They then laid siege to Stirling, but could not take it. But at Falkirk Muir they overcame General

Fight of
Falkirk
January,
1746

Hawley, who had been sent with 8,000 men to relieve Stirling Cumberland himself then took the command of the royal troops, and the Highlanders fell back to Inverness. Next spring the Duke went in search of them, and found them at Culloden Field, near Inverness. At Culloden the royal troops were handled so well that the wildest rushes of the Highlanders could not break their firm array.

Fight of
Culloden
April, 1746

The mountaineers, thus baffled, soon scattered before the murderous volleys of musketry, and made for their several homes. Thus ended the last Jacobite rising. The poor Highlanders were most cruelly treated by the victorious soldiers. For five months Charles wandered about through the Highlands and Western isles, suffering many hardships and meeting with very romantic adventures. But in September he got off safe to France. Of his followers the Lords Lovat, Kilmarnock, and Balmerinoch were beheaded, nearly a hundred others were also executed. A law was then made doing away with the special authority of the Highland chieftains over their clans.

7 The war with France still went on, but in Flanders the Allies were generally unsuccessful. As a set-off to their failures by land the British gained two victories at sea. At length in 1748 peace was made with France and Spain at

Peace of
Aix la
Chapelle.
1748

Aix-la-Chapelle. None of the nations won anything in this war, except Prussia, which was allowed to keep Silesia.

8 Six years of unbroken quiet at home and abroad followed. In 1754 Henry Pelham died, and the strife of statesmen began anew. At the same time things were fast ripening towards the outbreak of one of the most important wars in history—the Seven Years' War, as it afterwards came to be named.

Death of
Henry
Pelham,
1754.

CHAPTER XIII

HOW THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR WAS BROUGHT ABOUT

1 AFTER the death of Henry Pelham it was not easy to form a ministry that could both do the work of government and carry what was thought needful through the House of Commons. Newcastle took the first place, but he wanted a man to lead the Commons. It was not easy to get such a man, Pitt was too high minded, and was, moreover, disliked by the king. Henry Fox, a clever man, who knew well how to humour the Lower House, and had few scruples, was willing to take the post, but Newcastle wanted to keep all the power to himself, and his first attempt to gain Fox failed. In a short time, however, Newcastle saw that his ministry must fall unless he got a man of ability to lead the Commons, he agreed to allow Fox a share of power, and Fox became Secretary of State. Even after he got Fox troubles came thick upon Newcastle. The nation kept drifting into war with France, and the Duke, looking about for allies, wanted to draw closer to Austria, which had secretly entered into a friendship with France. Then the French, without declaring war, besieged St Philip's, in Minorca, and Admiral Byng, who had been sent with a fleet to bring succour to the place, came away without doing anything. The people grew very angry, and men began to think more and more of Pitt as the only man who could save the nation. Newcastle offered to have Byng hanged—indeed, next year Byng was tried by court-martial and shot—but the people were still uneasy and fretful. Then Fox left Newcastle, and soon his Ministry broke up.

Newcastle's
Ministry,
1754-56

Newcastle's
troubles

Newcastle
resigns,
1759

2 By this time war with France had come in earnest, and the voice of the people called loudly for Pitt as the only man fit to have the management of it Thereupon the King yielded, and a Ministry was formed in which the Duke of Devonshire, a man of spotless honour, was Prime Minister, and Pitt Secretary of State In a few months, however, the King—in whose mind the hard things that Pitt had once said about Hanover still rankled—took away his office from Pitt, and asked Newcastle to try and get a ministry together once more. But Pitt had now become the darling of the people, and men gave utterance to their feelings in a very marked way The leading cities and towns sent each its freedom to Pitt in a gold box, 'for some weeks,' it was said, 'it rained gold boxes' The King and Newcastle found that it was hopeless to try any longer to withstand the will of the people Pitt was sent for, again made Secretary, and allowed to become the ruling spirit in the new Cabinet. The management of the war and all dealings with foreign States were wholly placed in his hands Newcastle was First Lord of the Treasury, and Anson First Lord of the Admiralty Thus was brought into being one of the strongest ministries that have ever ruled England. It had all the strength that came from Parliamentary support, for most of the Commons voted as Newcastle wished, and it had all the strength that came from masterly intellect and the hearty love of the people, for Pitt was the largest-minded and most popular statesman that England has known for two hundred years The King too forgot his old grudge against Pitt, and held loyalty by his great minister

Pitt Secretary of State,
November 1756—April, 1757

Pitt's great Ministry formed,
June, 1757

William Pitt, known in his own days as 'the Great Commoner,' was the son of a West Country gentleman His character was very pure and noble, when Paymaster

he would not take anything but his lawful salary, though it was then usual for Paymasters to enrich themselves by putting out at interest the balance of public money in their hands. His ways of speaking and acting were marked by a certain grandeur and stateliness, which filled those who came near him with a feeling of awe. We have had few statesmen equal to him in clearness of thought and greatness of soul.

- 3 The point that England and France had now resolved to settle by force of arms was—which of the two nations should be master in North America.
- ↓ The English in America The English Colonies there had grown very much of late years, the settlement of Georgia in 1733 had raised their number to thirteen, and in 1756 their population had reached 1,300,000. The land they dwelt in stretched from the river Kennebec almost to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the sea coast to the Alleghany mountains. They had not spread to the west of these mountains, though some men among them were thinking of making a settlement there. Now the French had formed colonies in Canada and Louisiana. There were indeed very few French colonists—hardly 60,000 in all—but many of these were soldiers, whilst the English had no great skill or training in arms. About 1749 the French began to claim all the lands west of the Alleghanies, and the Governor of Canada was ordered to take the needful steps to secure these lands for France. He at once set about raising a line of forts between Canada and Louisiana. This line was to be a border marking off the country which belonged to France from that which belonged to England. By this arrangement the 1,300,000 English would have been shut up in a comparatively narrow strip of land along the seacoast, while the 60,000 French would have had almost all the rest of North America.
- The French in America

4 Just as the French were beginning to carry out this design a company was formed in England to colonise 500,000 acres of land which King George had granted them on the banks of the Ohio. But a small French force had already built a fort there, which they called Fort Duquesne. In 1754 George Washington, then a young man, marched across the Alleghenies with 150 Virginians, to drive the French from the place. The French were too strong for Washington, and he returned home. By this time the English Government had come to see that a great effort must be made to put down the French in America, and General Braddock was sent out with two regiments to aid the colonists. Braddock started from Virginia with 2,000 men, made his way across the Alleghenies, and led his force blindly into the woods. When within 10 miles of Fort Duquesne he was assailed by bodies of French and Indians, who kept themselves carefully under cover. Braddock, after losing 700 of his small army, and getting mortally wounded himself, was forced to retreat. He died on the way. There had also been much wrangling and much fighting about the border between Canada and Nova Scotia, where the English had lately built the town of Halifax (1749). Clearly the two peoples could not live at peace with each other on equal terms. England and France now went to war to find out which was to have the mastery.

Defeat of
General
Braddock,
1755

✓

5 Prussia was an ally of England in this war. Frederick the Great, then king in Prussia, was George II's nephew, but hitherto there had been little friendship between the two princes. Frederick had acted with France in the last war, and until 1756 had been supposed to be still in close alliance with the French king. But in that year it came to light that Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and Saxony had

Alliance
with
Prussia,
1757-62

banded themselves together to crush Prussia utterly, and Frederick gladly made an alliance with his uncle. By this England was to give Frederick 670,000*l* every year, both kings were to wage a common war against France, and neither was to make peace without the other.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EVENTS OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

1 FOR the four years during which Pitt held the chief power he thought of little else than how to bring the war to a happy ending for England. It was his fixed resolve to blot out the rule of the French in North America, and to give the sole mastery there to his own countrymen. The American nation, now one of the mightiest on earth, owes the beginning of its greatness to this war.

2 At the outset England got rather the worse. In 1756 Minorca was wrested from her, and in 1757 a German army in English pay, led by the Duke of Cumberland, fell back before the French. The war begins badly. On the sea-coast, and to save it Cumberland agreed, at Kloster-Zeven, to let the French keep Hanover for a time. In America too the French seemed to be the stronger power. In 1758, though they quietly left Fort Duquesne when they heard that an army was coming against the place, yet they beat back a body of 12,000 from Ticonderoga, killing or wounding 2,000 of them.

3 But most of these things either happened or were planned before Pitt became Chief Minister. Shortly after his appointment the war took a favourable turn in both Germany and America. In Germany Pitt got from King Frederick a very good general, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, and set him over

The war in
Germany
1758.

the army which Cumberland had led so badly Ferdinand at once moved upon the French, drove them back from point to point, and at last swept them clean out of Hanover. He even followed them across the Rhine, and overthrew them at Crefeld. Then Pitt added a British force of 12,000 to Ferdinand's army. Most of our Highland regiments served for the first time in this war. Pitt had lately raised these regiments from the Highland clans, rightly thinking that in this way he would turn rebels into loyal soldiers. In 1758 a fleet and army were sent against Cape Breton also. General Amherst was leader of the army, but his second in command was James Wolfe, a young soldier of great skill and daring, simple-hearted and truthful, whom Pitt had picked out for command from among much older men. The French tried to hinder the English from landing, but failed. Louisburg, the chief town of Cape Breton, was besieged and taken, whereupon the whole island passed into the hands of the English.

Battle of
Crefeld,
June, 1758

Cape Breton
subdued,
1758

4. But the great year of the war was 1759, perhaps in no single year has England won so many great successes as in this one. In Germany, in America, in India, off the coasts of Portugal and France mighty deeds of war were done by the English. A writer then living said, 'One is forced to ask every morning what victory there is, for fear of missing one.'

5 (1) In Germany the campaign began with a defeat. The French having seized the free town of Frankfort, Ferdinand marched swiftly southwards with 30,000 men to try and dislodge them. A little way from Frankfort he came upon 35,000 French drawn up at Bergen, fought long and stubbornly to clear them from his path, but had at last to go back the way he came, leaving 2,500 of his troops on the field. Yet in the following August he gained a victory at Minden,

The war in
Germany,
1759

Battle of
Bergen,
April.

which more than wiped away the disgrace at Bergen. He was standing at bay on the left bank of the Weser with two French armies before him. These were strongly posted, and he dared not attack them. But he cunningly tempted the French to come across the river, whereupon six English regiments of foot boldly charged Of Minden and scattered the French horse. The French August. horse rallied and again bore down on the English foot, but were again routed by the swift and steady musketry-fire of their foes. Then the French general gave the word for retreat. Ferdinand sent orders to Lord George Sackville, the commander of the English horse, to charge the retreating army, and it is thought that, if Lord George had done so, the French army would have been utterly crushed. But the Englishman, for reasons that are not exactly known, would not charge and the beaten French were able to get back across the river. They lost 7,000 in this battle. For this contempt of orders Sackville was put out of the army altogether by King George. The Marquis of Granby took his place in command of the horse. Ferdinand kept the upper hand throughout the rest of the campaign, the French armies moving back towards Frankfort.

(2) But the war in Germany was important only because it made success in America possible. It was in

The war in
America,
1759

America that the greatest event of the war, indeed of the century, took place. This was the taking of Quebec, the chief town of Canada,

from the French. Late in June a large fleet, having on board 8,000 troops, under the command of General Wolfe, sailed into the St. Lawrence. Quebec stands on

Quebec
besieged
June

the left bank of this river, perched on very high rocks, and the French commander, Montcalm, had posted his army, 10,000 in all,

a little lower down on the same side. Wolfe began by

bombarding the town from the other side, but did not get a bit nearer winning it, though he did it much harm.



Next he crossed to the left bank and tried to force Montcalm from his position. But his foremost troops were too eager and rushing upon their foes before the

others could be brought forward, were beaten and driven back in confusion. Wolfe became disheartened, and almost gave up all hope of getting Quebec that year. Through death and disease his army dwindled to hardly more than 4,500, and he himself fell into a fever. He waited on, however, thinking that help might come to him from the South, whence Generals Amherst and Johnson were striving to make their way. But no help came, Johnson took Niagara, Amherst Ticonderoga, yet neither could get near Quebec. At last, one dark night in September, Wolfe's men went aboard boats and drifted silently with an ebbing tide to a point two miles above Quebec, now called Wolfe's Cove. There they landed, climbed the Heights of Abraham, which rose steep from the river, and early next morning stood drawn up in battle array on the level ground behind the town. Montreal was taken by surprise, but at once hastened with his army to 'smash' the English, as he said. The French came briskly on, the English stood stock still until they got their foes within forty yards—then they all

at the same moment poured a deadly volley into the French ranks. The French paused and Wolfe at once led his grenadiers to the charge. In a few minutes all was over, the enemy fled from the field. But the noble Wolfe fell, hit by three musket-balls, he

had just time to be told that the French ran and to say, 'I shall die happy,' when he breathed his last. Montreal too was wounded, and died next day. Four days later Quebec surrendered.

(3) This year the French made a grand plan for invading England. They got together fleets at Toulon, Havre, and Brest, and thought that if these could be combined success was sure. But Pitt took care to prevent the union of these fleets. In July he sent Admiral Rodney against

Death of
Wolfe.

Quebec
taken Sep-
tember
1759

The war off
the Portu-
guese and
French
coasts
1759

Havre, who did much damage to the town and the flat-bottomed boats that were to carry the French soldiers across the Channel. In August, Admiral Boscawen caught the Toulon fleet, which had slipped through the Straits of Gibraltar, off Lagos, in Portugal, and at once closed with it. In this fight five of the largest French ships were taken or sunk, and the rest driven ashore or forced to flee. Yet the French still clung to their plan, and the preparations at Brest were pushed briskly forward. To Admiral Hawke had been given the duty of watching that port, and he had watched it all the summer and autumn. But in November the French fleet under Conflans, finding that wild weather had driven Hawke from his station, put out to sea. Hawke heard of this movement, came back with all speed, fell upon Conflans, and beat him utterly. This battle was fought in the midst of a raging storm, among dangerous rocks and shoals, well known to the French, but not to the English. It was an awful scene, three French ships were sunk or burnt, two struck their flags, the rest were chased into the river Vilaine or Charente.

Bombardment of Havre, July

Battle of Lagos, August

Battle of Quiberon Bay, November

6 The war lasted some years longer, but the English always got the better of their enemies. In 1760 three small armies moved at the same time on Montreal, where the French still held out. Montreal surrendered, and the French power in Canada came to an end. Prince Ferdinand too kept his ground in Westphalia against forces much larger than his own, and even gained one or two battles. Never had the name of England been so great.

Canada won by England 1760

7 But at this point the King of Spain thought fit to enter into the war on the side of France. He was a Bourbon, and had a kindly feeling for his cousin of

France English war-ships, he said, had done grievous wrong to Spanish trade during the war, and Englishmen had cut logwood, in spite of him, on the shore of Campeachy Bay. In 1761 he bound himself by another Family Compact to go to war with England if peace were not made before May 1, 1762. Pitt found out about this Family Compact, and wanted to make war on Spain at once when she was unprepared. But George II had died the year before (October, 1760), his grandson, George III, was not so hearty in upholding Pitt, war was not declared, and Pitt went out of office. In 1762, however, the Spaniards, having got themselves ready, began war with England. Again England was victorious at every point. A Spanish army which had invaded Portugal, then an ally of England, was forced to withdraw, Havanna, the chief town of Cuba, was taken at one end of the earth, Manilla, the chief town of the Philippine islands, was taken at the other. Vast sums of money fell into the hands of the victors at both places.

8 In 1763 the war was brought to a close by the Peace of Paris. This treaty has some likeness to the Peace of Utrecht. The Earl of Bute, George III's new Minister, was so anxious to end the war that he not only abandoned England's ally, the Prussian king, but let off France and Spain much easier than they had hoped. France made over to England, Canada, Cape Breton, and some West India islands, and gave back Minorca. To Spain, England restored Havanna and Manilla, getting only Florida in their place. Most Englishmen were greatly displeased with this arrangement, but Bute carried it out nevertheless.

CHAPTER XV

THE RISE OF THE ENGLISH POWER IN INDIA.

1 Two things make the Seven Years' War the most fruitful event of modern times for England. The first is, that it overthrew the French power in America, and thus smoothed the way for the revolt of the English colonies. When the colonists no longer needed the help of the mother-country against foes on their soil they were sure soon to separate themselves from her altogether. The second noticeable thing about this war is, that during it the English began to build up their Empire in India.

Importance
of Seven
Years War

2 England owes her sway over India to a mere body of traders. In 1600 some London merchants got from Queen Elizabeth a charter giving them the sole right of trading with the East Indies for fifteen years. Thus the great East India Company was founded. In 1609 James I renewed this charter without fixing any term of years, only keeping to himself the power of taking it away at any time he pleased on giving the company three years' notice. This Company lasted until 1859, but in 1813 other people were allowed to trade with India as well.

East India
Company
founded
December
31, 1600

3 For 150 years the Company went on trading with the East with no other thought than that of gaining riches. Their earliest dealings were not with India itself, but with the islands beyond, their first factories being at Acheen, in Sumatra, and Bantam, in Java. In 1612, however, they turned their thoughts towards India itself, and built a factory at Surat. And in 1615 Sir Thomas Roe was sent to Agra to seek for his countrymen the good-will of Shah Jehan-gir, the *Great Mogul*, as the chief ruler in India was

Earliest
English
factories in
the Indies.

called But it was not all smooth sailing with the Company at first. The Portuguese and the Dutch, who had got a footing in the Indies before the English came, and did not wish any others to share in their gains gave the Company much trouble. They had forts and ships of war in those parts, and sought to drive the English away by force. The English met force with force, and for many years a bitter warfare was kept up. In 1612 a Portuguese fleet made a bold attempt to crush the English at Suat, but failed. The Dutch fought longer and more doggedly, and having more men and armed ships in the Indies than the English, got the upper hand for a time. James I wanted very much to reconcile the Dutch and English Companies, and twice made them agree to a peace. But the hatred between them was long in dying out, and led to more than one lawless deed of bloodshed.

4. Still the English Company not only held its own but found a way into other parts of India. In 1640 it built Fort St. George (Madras) and Fort St. David on lands which it bought from a native prince. Next Charles II gave it Bombay (1662), which had come to him by his marriage with a princess of Portugal. After the Restoration it became wonderfully prosperous. But in William III's time it got into trouble both at home and in India. A new Company was formed which claimed freedom of trade, and having many friends in Parliament, seemed likely to destroy the old. At the same time it did something in India which kindled the wrath of the Great Mogul, Aurengzebe, and it lost the flourishing trading settlements which it had formed at Hooghly. But in a few years both clouds passed away. Aurengzebe was persuaded to take the Company again into favour, and granted it some lands on the Hooghly. There in 1698

Progress of
the Com
pany

it raised Fort William, round which the present Indian capital, Calcutta, afterwards grew up. And, in 1702, the old and new Companies made up their quarrel by uniting themselves together. Thus quiet came, and fresh prosperity along with it.

5 In 1740 things stood thus. Each station—Fort St George, Fort William, and Bombay—formed a kind of little state in itself, with a ruling body named by the Company, and a small army, partly Europeans and partly natives. These latter were called Sepoys, from the native word for soldier (*sipahi*). Morey-making was still the only thought of the English. The notion of bringing any part of India under their rule seems never to have entered their heads. But in 1751 they were drawn, almost in spite of themselves, into the quarrels of the native princes, and were thus tempted to enter on a wider field of action.

The English
in India in
1740

6 At this time there was a French East India Company also, with its chief stations in the island of Mauritius and at Pondicherry, south of Madras. In 1746 the Governor of Mauritius was La Bourdonnais, an able and honourable man, and the Governor of Pondicherry was Dupleix, also a man of great ability, but ambitious and vain. As war was then going on between England and France, La Bourdonnais sailed with 3,000 men to Madras, which being unable to withstand his greater force, surrendered to him. The Frenchman promised to give back the place to the English when they had paid him a large sum of money. But Dupleix claimed Madras as his conquest, and when La Bourdonnais sailed away he not only kept the place, but laid siege to Fort St David. From Fort St David he was frightened away by the coming of a new force from England. In 1748 the war in Europe ceased, and Madras again became English.

English and
French in
India

7 But peace with the English brought no rest to
 Dupleix The Empire of the Great Mogul was now fast
 Dupleix's breaking up, each native ruler was as good
 designs as independent in the lands under his govern-
 ment, and Dupleix thought that he might, by mixing
 himself up in their affairs, make himself the greatest man
 in Southern India. He was very successful for a time.
 He pulled down one Nerbob of Arcot and set up another,
 he pulled down the Viceroy of the Deccan—the Nizam,
 as he was called—and set up another in his place. The
 rule of South-Eastern India from the river Kistna to
 Cape Comorin was put into Dupleix's hands, his will
 was law among thirty millions of people.

8 At this state of affairs the English in Madras got
 afraid of being driven out of the country altogether, and
 The English sent a few hundred men to help Mahommed
 interfere. Ali, son of the slain Nerbob, who still held out
 in Trichinopoly. But these men were shamefully beaten,
 and shut up with their ally in Trichinopoly. It was just
 Robert at this time that Robert Clive, a young man of
 Clive noble daring, yet wary and cool headed, came
 b 1725, forward to take the lead among the English.
 d 1774 He was the son of a Shropshire gentleman, had been
 first a clerk in the Company's service, then an officer,
 and then a clerk again. He was now put at the head of
 500 men, of whom but 200 were Europeans, and in August
 Clive's early 1751 marched straight upon Arcot, the chief
 successes. town of the Carnatic. Arcot fell without strik-
 ing a blow, and Clive at once strengthened the walls and
 got all things ready for a siege. Ten thousand men soon
 closed round Arcot, but for fifty days Clive kept them at
 bay. In November the besiegers tried to storm the place,
 but were utterly defeated, and gave up the siege. A body
 of Marhattas, which had been hired to fight for Mahommed
 Ali, then coming up, Clive went in search of the retreating

army, overtook it at Arnee, and beat it thoroughly Clive then went on from success to success, the siege of Trichinopoly was raised, and Mahommed Ali was made Nabob of Arcot Dupleix worked hard to undo the effect of Clive's daring deeds, but in vain The upshot of the strife was that Dupleix was recalled to France, and a peace favourable to the English was made in 1754. The year before this, however, Clive had fallen into ill-health, and gone back to England

9 In 1756 Clive came back to India as governor of Fort St David About the same time a dreadful misfortune befell the English in Bengal. The young Nabob of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, was jealous of the prosperity of the strangers who had settled on his soil, and, in 1756, led an army to take and rob Calcutta. The English governor and the chief officer ran away, and the small garrison had to give up the place Then an awful deed was done by the Nabob's officers They thrust their 146 prisoners, one of whom was a woman, into the narrow guard-room of the fort, called the Black Hole, in which hardly a score of people could breathe freely Stifled for want of air they shrieked to be let out, but the men on guard were afraid to do this without an order from the Nabob, and the Nabob was asleep, and no one dared to wake him They were therefore kept in all night The scene was horrible, the prisoners trampled on one another in their agony, some died at once, some went mad Next morning, when the doors were opened, 123 were corpses Yet the hard heart of the Nabob was untouched, he put some of the few survivors in chains, and took Calcutta to himself But in some months Clive was sent from Madras with 2,400 men He soon won back Calcutta from the Nabob's soldiers, and when the Nabob came down on the place with a mighty host, Clive struck such fear into

The Black
Hole of
Calcutta,
1756

him by a march which he made through his camp that the Nabob was glad to agree to a peace

10 This peace lasted only a short time The Nabob soon came to hate and dread the English more than ever, and Clive, thinking there would be no safety for his countrymen so long as Surajah Dowlah was lord of Bengal, made a plot for his overthrow Meer Jaffer, his chief general, was to be made nabob in his room In

The plot
against
Surajah
Dowlah,
1757

this affair Clive stooped to do a very shameful thing Omichund, a Hindoo merchant, who had been taken into the plot, threatened to tell Surajah Dowlah of it unless he was pro-

mised 300,000*l* in the treaty made by the persons engaged in the design To quiet Omichund, Clive caused a false copy of the treaty to be drawn up, and when Admiral Watson would not sign this, Clive had his name put to it by another man In this, which was shown to Omichund, the promise of 300,000*l* was made to the Hindoo, but there was not a word about the money in the true treaty Clive marched at the head of 3,000 men towards Moorshedabad, the chief town of Bengal At Plassey he met the Nabob's army, 50,000 strong, led by

Battle of
Plassey,
June 23,
1757

the Nabob himself Here took place the first great battle fought by the English in India

The Nabob's army broke almost at once before the onset of Clive's little band, and rushed wildly from the field Surajah Dowlah fled far away, but was caught, brought before Meer Jaffer, and slain in prison Clive went on to Moorshedabad, and there set up Meer Jaffer as nabob of Bengal Then Omichund was told of the trick that had been played upon him The shock was so great that he became an idiot, and soon afterwards died The new nabob granted the English the lordship of a wide tract of land as the reward of their services to him

11 Clive's second stay in India lasted three years longer. He was not idle during this time. He put to flight the army of the Great Mogul's eldest son from before Patna. He destroyed a Dutch fleet and army which were on their way up the Hooghly to Chinsurah, a Dutch station, because he believed they had been sent to work evil to his countrymen. He never faltered, and everything he put his hand to prospered. Early in 1760 he sailed home, and was at once made an Irish peer as Lord Clive, and got a seat among the Commons.

12 Whilst Clive was busy in Bengal, the English at Madras were in serious danger. Count Lally Tollendal, a brave and skilful but rather fiery general, had been sent out from France with 1,200 trained soldiers to strengthen the French at Pondicherry. In 1758 he laid siege to Fort St David, took it and levelled it to the ground. Next he went against Madras itself, but after trying every means he could think of to win the place, he had to give up his design and march away. In 1760 he was overthrown by Eyre Coote, a famous English soldier, at Wandewash. Next year Pondicherry was taken by the English. With the fall of Pondicherry the French power in India came to an end. It was now clear that the English were to be masters of India if India was to have foreign masters.

Clive's
further
doings,
1757-60

Lally
Tollendal in
India, 1758-
1761

End of
French
power in
India, 1761

CHAPTER XVI

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF GEORGE III'S REIGN

1 IN October 1760 George II suddenly died, and his eldest grandson became king as George III. The new king was twenty-two years old, and his character was in many ways unlike that of the earlier kings of his line. He was thoroughly English in feeling as in birth, he

George III
King 1760-
1820 had much good sense, he was fully alive to his duties as a king, and strove to fulfil them faithfully, and he had always a warm desire

to do good to his people. He had also high courage and spirit. Perhaps his most marked quality was his unflinching pursuit of any end that he had once set before

Character of George III him. No rebuff, not even seeming failure, could make him give up, striving after the thing that he had once made up his mind to

gain. This dogged pursuit of a fixed purpose led to important changes in the way of ruling the country during his reign. His life was pure, and his tastes were homely.

But his powers of mind were not great, his understanding was narrow and untrained, and he had little knowledge. Eleven months after his accession he married

Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a lady like-minded with himself. Queen Charlotte became the mother of many children, and lived until 1818.

2 George III's coming to the throne wrought great changes, but not at once. The Jacobites and High

Philosophy Ministry still
Tories indeed, who had held aloof in dislike or enmity from the first two Georges, saw in

George III a native king to whom they could be loyal, and crowded to his Court. The Earl of Bute,

who had hitherto been his great friend and counsellor, was made one of the Secretaries of State, and there were some other little signs that a new order of things was at hand. But the Ministry of William Pitt was still kept in power. The whole management of the war and of foreign affairs was still left to him.

But in October Pitt withdrew from office, because his advice to make war at once upon Spain was not followed, and the king straightway struck into a new path. Taking as his guide John Stuart, Earl of Bute, he set to work to make himself king in reality. For almost fifty years the King of England had been helpless in the hands of the great Whig houses. The Constitution still gave him a large measure of power, but the heads of these houses had come to look upon this power as their own. The king could not withhold from them anything they were firmly bent on having, for everything now hung on the vote of the Commons, and the Whig leaders had the means of getting this vote whenever they wished. As George II had once said, 'in England the Ministers were king,' and these must be taken from the ranks of the great Whig lords and of those whom these lords favoured. But George III made it the grand purpose of his life to wrest from the Whig lords the foremost place in the State. Thus began a struggle that lasted for many years, in which George had his own way in the end.

The King enters upon a new course, 1761

4 One or two things make this fight for power unlike other struggles of the same kind in our history. (1) It was not a strife between the king and the people, but between the king and a few men of vast influence. The Revolution Settlement had left to the king a fair share of power, he could declare war, make peace, call together and send away

Nature of the struggle

✓

parliaments, bestow honours, dignities, and every kind of appointment in Church and State at his pleasure, and do many other things which made people look up to him with reverence, and be glad to win his favour. George III now raised the question—was all this power to be used by the king himself or by the Whig houses? George strained every nerve to make this power the king's, and his alone. He called himself a Whig of the Revolution, for he wanted things brought back to what they had been in 1690. (2) The kings of former days had sought to work their will *in spite of* the Commons, but George sought to work his will *through* the Commons. To gain his ends he used every means he could think of to get members of Parliament to vote as he wished. And it was only by members of Parliament voting as he wished that he was able to gain his ends. This, then, is the meaning of the struggle—George was resolved that his will should be of some account in the ruling of the country, and sought to make the working of the Constitution such as the Revolution had made it.

5 The battle began in earnest in May 1762, when Newcastle was forced to resign his post. Bute, who had for some time held all the power of a Prime Minister, then became so in name also. The raising of such a man to so high an office in itself showed what the king was bent on doing. Bute had been in the service of the king's father, had won the fast friendship of the king's mother, and had been the tutor of the king himself. He had no better gifts of mind than his fellows, and no training as a statesman, but he had the good-will of the king, and so was made chief ruler of the nation under the Crown. The first trial of strength between the king and the men whom he was eager to humble was about the making of peace with France in 1762. Henry Fox undertook for a large reward

Bute Prime
Minister
May, 1762

to get a vote in its favour from the Commons. He fulfilled his promise thoroughly. Only 65 of the Commons voted against the Peace, whilst 319 voted for it. George now felt himself to be indeed King of England. But the wrath of the people at these doings showed itself so plainly that Bute got frightened and threw up his office.

Bute resigns April, 1763

6 George Grenville, whose sister was Pitt's wife, was then placed at the head of affairs. It was thought that Grenville would not only carry out the king's wishes, but would also be willing to follow Bute's guidance. But Grenville complained so much to George about Bute's influence that George soon became anxious to get rid of him. There were, however, few statesmen willing to be the king's ministers on the king's terms. George made several attempts to win over Pitt to form a new Ministry, but they all fell through. At last in 1765 the King's dislike of Grenville overcame his dislike of the Whig lords, and a Ministry of the old kind, with the Marquis of Rockingham as its leader, came into office.

Grenville, Prime Minister, 1763-65

7 Englishmen will long remember Grenville's Ministry for two causes. (1) It began and carried on a legal persecution of John Wilkes, a member of Parliament who had written against the Government in a paper called the 'North Briton'. Wilkes was seized along with several others on a 'general warrant,' that is, a warrant in which no persons were named, but which simply empowered the king's officers to arrest those that had done a certain thing supposed to be unlawful. The Court of Common Pleas released Wilkes because no one had a right to arrest a member of Parliament for libel. There was much excitement throughout the country, and Wilkes became very popular. He soon, however, got into

Wilkes and 'general warrants'

trouble again, was wounded in a duel, fled to France, and was outlawed. But Chief Justice Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, gave a solemn judgment against the lawfulness of general warrants, and they have never been used since. (2) Grenville carried through Parliament the law which first stirred up a strong ill feeling in the American colonies against England.¹ This was an Act for raising a tax from the Americans by means of a duty on stamped paper.

The American Stamp Act

8 Rockingham's Ministry lasted no longer than a year. The king did not like it, and kept it only until he could get a body of ministers more to his mind. It lived long enough, however, to do away with the American Stamp Act, which had caused a general outburst of angry feeling in America, and indeed could not be enforced.² But the king looked coldly on this Ministry, and the *Kings Friends*, as those members in the Commons were called who were always ready to vote as the King bade them, took the side opposed to it. The King, moreover, was at last able to make an arrangement with Pitt. Rockingham was dismissed, and Pitt, who was now created Earl of Chatham, took his place.

Rockingham Prime Minister, 1765-6

9 Pitt's second Ministry was as great a failure as his first had been a success. For this there were several reasons. He had lost the love of the people by becoming a peer. He had undertaken to break up parties—a task which he found to be impossible. He had separated himself from his old Whig friends, and found himself with no other followers than the King's Friends, who looked more to the King than to him. But there was a sadder cause still. Early in 1767 a strange disease laid hold upon him, his mind

Pitt's second Ministry, 1766-8

¹ See p. 560

² See p. 561

seems to have given way, and for eighteen months he was utterly helpless, being unable to take the slightest part in the management of affairs. During this time everything went wrong, for the Duke of Grafton, Prime Minister in name, was too weak to hold in check the other ministers. Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, got Parliament to agree to a bill laying duties on tea and other goods imported to America, and thus the wound which the repeal of the Stamp Act had almost healed was torn open anew. In 1768 Chatham's health of mind came back to him, but the first use he made of it was to give up his place in the Ministry.

10 Grafton stayed in office for some time longer. During this the King was making good way towards the object he was seeking after, for neither Grafton nor Lord North, whom the death of Charles Townshend had made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1767, cared to thwart him. The noisiest question this Ministry had to deal with was one that arose out of the election of Wilkes to Parliament. In

Grafton's
Ministry,
1768-70

1768 Wilkes had returned from Paris and been chosen one of the members for Middlesex. But he was sent to gaol for two years in punishment of the libels

he had written. Whilst in gaol he wrote a letter which the Commons regarded as a libel

Wilkes and
the rights
of electors

on the Secretary of State, Lord Weymouth. They therefore expelled Wilkes from their House. Middlesex again elected him. The Commons would not admit him and ordered a new election. Middlesex elected him a third time. But on his being again refused admission by the Commons, another man, one Colonel Luttrell, stood for Middlesex, and, though three times as many votes were given for Wilkes, the Commons took Luttrell as their member. Many people thought that the Com-

mons in taking this course did a gross wrong to the electors

✓ In 1770 Grafton resigned, and Lord North at once became the chief of a new Ministry

CHAPTER XVII

GEORGE III AND LORD NORTH

1 LORD NORTH was the eldest son of the Earl of Guildford. He was a very good-humoured, even-tempered man, it was almost impossible to make him angry. To most people his Ministry at first seemed very weak and not likely to live long. Yet it lived for twelve years. Many things worked together to give it this unusual length of life. The King's Friends were hearty in upholding it. The King found in Lord North a Minister to his mind, and used his power and influence to the uttermost to keep him in office. He took pains to find out how each member of Parliament voted, and gave or withheld his favours according as he voted for or against Lord North. Then the old Tory party had come together again, and, true to its principles, held to the man whom the king delighted to honour. Lastly, the Whigs had got disunited, some looking to Chatham, others to Rockingham as their leader. And George, who longed to do away with party-government, now and then gave office to a Whig of mark who was willing to break with his party.

Lord North,
Prime
Minister,
1770-82

The King's
course of
action

2 The king had now fairly got the upper hand, during these twelve years he was in every way the real ruler of the nation. He and Lord North thought alike

about the rights of the people and the rights of the king, for Lord North was a stout Tory. Moreover, George was a man of masterful will, Lord North was of an easy, yielding temper, and did little more than carry out the king's wishes. The bulk of the Commons cheerfully agreed to everything that the ministers laid before them.

3 Yet in 1771 the Commons foolishly thrust themselves into a quarrel which ended in a way that, in the long run, weakened the king's power, and helped forward great changes in Parliament itself. At this time men outside Parliament had not the means which they have now of easily learning what members said in their debates. Neither the Lords nor the Commons would let anyone publish in an open way any account of their debates. In 1771 certain newspapers began to give to the world reports of speeches in Parliament without disguise. The Commons grew angry, and called upon the printers to come before them and answer for what they had done. One or two of the printers thus summoned would not come, and an officer of the House was sent to arrest them. But this officer was himself seized and brought before the Lord Mayor on a charge of having tried to arrest a citizen of London without a lawful warrant.

Parliamentary debates first allowed to be printed, 1771 ✓

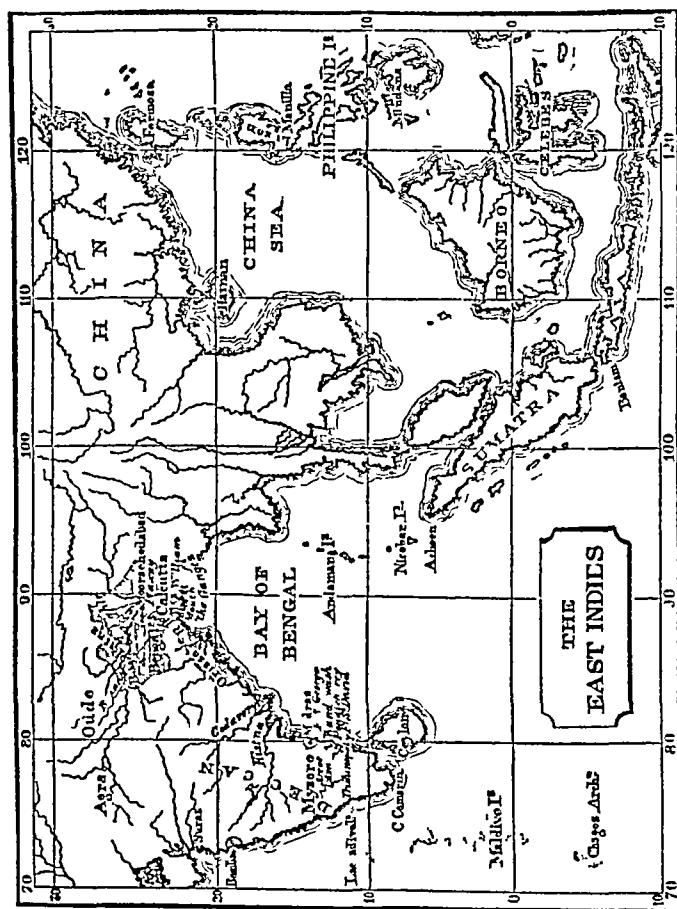
The Lord Mayor ordered him to be sent to prison. In this way the House of Commons and the City of London got into a bitter dispute, in the course of which the Lord Mayor was sent to the Tower. But the men of London showed so dangerous a temper, that the Commons took care never to bring on themselves a similar trouble again. Henceforth newspapers have been allowed to publish as full reports of Parliamentary debates as they can get.

4. Statesmen had now begun to watch the growth of

English power in India with some interest, and a feeling was spreading that the men who were at the head of English affairs in that land had often been guilty of wrongful deeds. After 1760 the onward course of the English in India had gone on unchecked. In 1763 the Council of Calcutta, who had shortly before set aside Meer Jaffer, and made Meer Cossim nabob of Bengal in his place, took offence at Meer Cossim, and sent an army to overthrow him also. He was overthrown, and Meer Jaffer became nabob once more. But this high-handed way of dealing with an Indian prince was very displeasing to other Indian princes, and in 1764 the Great Mogul himself, Shah Alum, and his Vizier, the more powerful nabob of Oude, Sujah Dowlah, marched a force of 50,000 men against the meddling strangers. At Buxar this force was met, and shamefully routed by 8,000 Sepoys and 1,200 Europeans, led by Major Hector Munro. Next day Shah Alum, glad to free himself from the control of his Vizier, slipped into Munro's camp, and agreed to a treaty which placed in the hands of the Company the rule of still more Indian lands.

5 But by this time the misconduct of the Company's servants had reached such a height, and the Company's affairs had fallen into such disorder, that in 1765 Lord Clive had to go out a third time to try and set things right. A great fear fell upon the native princes when they heard that Clive was again in India, Sujah Dowlah at once yielded himself up, and the Great Mogul was ready to do anything the English liked. Clive gave back to Sujah Dowlah the greater part of Oude, whilst he got the Great Mogul to make over to the Company, in return for a yearly rent of 260,000*l.*, the rule of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. In this

way the English in India became lords of a region larger than England itself. Clive found his own countrymen



much harder to deal with. They were loth to give up trading on their own account and taking gifts from the

natives, by which they were growing very rich. The army, which lay at Monghir, mutinied. But Clive stood fearlessly to his purpose, the mutiny at Monghir was put down with a strong hand, and every man in the pay of the Company had to bow to Clive's will. Late in 1766 ill-health again forced Clive to return to England.

6 Clive's reforms did not at once work all the good expected from them. In 1767 the English at Madras were drawn into a costly war with Hyder Ali, the Rajah of Mysore, the most dangerous foe they had yet encountered, and after two years' fighting they had to make a peace from which they gained nothing, and in 1770 a dreadful famine carried off a third of the people of Bengal. The Company sank deeper and deeper into distress, and Parliament felt bound to take steps to lessen this evil state of things. After certain members of the Commons, who had been named to look into the Company's affairs, had given in their report, Parliament passed the Regulating Act, brought in by Lord North. This law set up a new court at Calcutta, called the Supreme Court, made the Governor of Bengal—who then happened to be Warren Hastings—Governor-General of India, and named a council of four to advise this official and check his doings. The Commons also soon after passed a vote of censure on Lord Clive for some of his acts in India, though they allowed he had done great things for his country. Clive, however, took this treatment very much to heart, and towards the end of 1774 killed himself in his London house. He was only forty nine years old.

Disordered
state of the
Company's
affairs

The Regu-
lating Act,
1773

Death of
Clive,
November,
1774

7 But it was upon America that men's eyes were chiefly fixed while North was Minister.¹ In the first half

¹ See p. 562 sqq.

of his time of office the chief work of Parliament was to agree to those laws—laid before them by the King's trusted Minister—which led to the colonists taking up arms against the mother-country ; during the second half, Parliament, Lord North, and the King were vainly striving to undo the mischief they had done. The Commons must share with George III the blame of having driven the Americans into war, and seen their mistake only when it was too late. Nor should it be forgotten that the country at large was of the same mind as King and Parliament regarding the justice of their cause, the English people, save a few deep-thinking and far-seeing men, approved of the course that the King and his Minister were taking.

Lord
North's
dealings
with
America

Public
opinion on
the Ameri-
can war

8 Such, however, was not the opinion of Lord Chatham. He often spoke with great force and earnestness against the laws and doings that were angering the Americans, and in 1775 he brought in a bill for doing away with all causes of quarrel between the two countries. This bill the Lords at once threw out, but Chatham still tried hard to save his country from herself. When the war had broken out, he told his countrymen that they could not 'conquer the Americans,' and again and again spoke warmly in favour of peace. When the news of the disgrace at Saratoga in 1777 came,¹ and France made an alliance with America, there was a general wish that Chatham should be made Prime Minister, and Lord North would gladly have given place to him. But the frank words that Chatham had often uttered regarding the management of American affairs had greatly displeased the king, and he was slow to see the necessity of taking the great statesman into his counsels, and before the king could make up his mind

Lord
Chatham
tries to pre-
vent war

¹ See p 569

Chatham was dead In April 1778 he had, though very ill, gone to the House of Lords to speak against a motion in favour of peace, for now that France had joined America, Chatham would not hear of peace, he had spoken against the motion, and when rising to speak a second time had fallen back in a fit

Chatham dies, May 11 1778

Five weeks later he died Lord North, eager as he was to leave his post, was forced to stay If he had gone, the heads of the Whig houses must have come into power, and the king said, 'I would rather lose the crown I wear than bear the ignominy of possessing it under *their* shackles'

9 Yet Lord North had no easy task A group of very able men, small in number, but great in gifts of genius and power of speech, opposed him in the Commons and gave him no rest Of these the deepest thinker and speaker was Edmund Burke, an Irishman, who had been brought into Parliament by Lord Rockingham, and gained a foremost place in the ranks of the Whigs by sheer force of intellect Burke wrote as well as spoke powerfully, indeed he is believed to be our greatest political writer The greatest speaker of the group was Charles James Fox, a younger son of Henry Fox At first Fox had been a Tory, and been in office for some years under Lord North, but he changed his views as time went on, became a Whig, and ere long took the place of Whig leader in the Commons By watchful care he made himself the most skilful and telling Parliamentary speaker of the day Other Whigs of mark were Colonel Barré and Mr Dunning

The Opposition

Edmund Burke, b 1729, d. 1797

Charles James Fox, b 1749, d 1806.

10 Session after session these men withstood Lord North in every way they could think of They spoke strongly and boldly against everything the Minister did,

warned him of the fatal course he was taking in taxing and then trying to conquer the Americans, and frankly said that they thought the Americans right in resisting the armies of England. They were nearly always beaten by large majorities, but they were not disheartened, and never ceased from their attacks on the Minister. The thing they were most bitter against was the great and growing power of the king. To cut down this power they hit upon a plan for lessening the king's influence, which they named Economic Reform, and strove zealously to get Parliament to approve of it. It was Burke who thought out, and was most eager in pushing forward, this plan. It sought to do away with all useless offices, to bring down the pension list to a fixed sum, 60,000*l* a year—in fact to make the work of ruling the nation less costly. But its grand aim was to weaken the king's influence, most of the useless offices were in the king's household, many of the men who held them sat among the Commons, and readily voted as their master wished. A brief sentence states the whole evil which Burke wanted to destroy—'The king's turnspit was a member of Parliament.' Efforts were made to carry this plan through Parliament from time to time, but they all failed so long as Lord North was Prime Minister.

Economic
Reform
movement,
1779-82

11 But in March 1782, owing to the ill-success of the English arms in America,¹ the Commons began to show signs of turning against Lord North, and the king at last consented to let him go. Once more George had to fall back on the Whig houses, and to take Lord Rockingham as Minister. Still he was able to keep a high place for at least one of his friends, Lord Thurlow remained Chancellor. Fox was one of the Secretaries of

Lord North
resigns.
Rocking
ham Prime
Minister
March,
1782

¹ See p 572

State, and Burke Paymaster of the Forces This Ministry lasted but a few months, for Rockingham died in the following July It had time enough, however, to carry a part of Burke's plan for Economic Reform This put an end to a good many useless offices, and cut down the pension list, but it was far from doing all that had been hoped for

12 Rockingham was no sooner dead than the weakness of the Whig party showed itself The Earl of Shelburne had become the leader of the Chatham Whigs after Chatham's death, and with his friends had taken office under Lord Rockingham But now the king gave the first place to the Earl of Shelburne, and Fox, Burke, and the other friends of Rockingham resigned in a body, and became the enemies of the new Ministry They did worse, they took the fatal step of uniting themselves with the party of the man against whom they had fought so long and bitterly, Lord North This conduct brought down upon them the wrath both of king and people, and led, after a short struggle, to their utter overthrow Early in 1783 the 'Coalition,' as the combined party of Fox and North

The 'Coalition Ministry,' Feb - Dec. 1783

was called, outvoted Shelburne on a question that Fox had himself set in motion—the making of peace¹ Shelburne had to retire

They then forced the king to take them as his ministers, and George for nearly a year had to listen to the counsels of men whom he hated He made no secret of his enmity to them, and thwarted them by every means in his power Yet the two statesmen had most of the Commons at their command, and the king was helpless in their hands But in December 1783 he felt that he could bear the yoke no longer, and when an India Bill of Fox's, which the Commons had approved of,

¹ See p. 576.

went up to the Lords, the king let it be known that he would look on every lord who voted for it as his enemy. The Lords therefore threw out the bill, and the king not only turned away his hated ministers, but boldly offered the post of Prime Minister to William Pitt, a younger son of Lord Chatham's, then only twenty-four years old. Pitt, with even greater boldness, accepted the king's offer (December 1783).

13 For three months the new Minister had to hold his place against a House of Commons that promptly voted against him on every question. Pitt was beaten over and over again, the 'Coalition' strained every nerve to drive him from office. But Pitt manfully stood his ground.

William
Pitt, Prime
Minister
December,
1783

A strong feeling against Fox and North was setting in throughout the country, and Pitt was resolved to wait until this feeling had reached its height. Late in March 1784 he saw that the proper time had come, and asked the king to dissolve Parliament. The king did so, and in the general election which followed, by far the greater number of members chosen were pledged to give their votes to Pitt. The king had won, the election of 1784 gave the

General
election of
1784

Tories the rule of the country for almost fifty years.

When we look closely at the ninety-five years of English history which we have just passed through, side by side with the times which go before, the thing that we see most clearly is this—the House of Commons has now come to be all-important in the State. But when we look at the history of these same years side by side with the times that come after, the thing that strikes us most is—the House of Commons

Summary

is not yet a body that has a mind of its own and can act for itself. Owing to the way in which most of its members are chosen, it willingly puts itself into the hands of others, and gives them its power to use as they wish. At one time some powerful men among the nobility manage to bind together their friends among the Commons, and through these to make and unmake the king's Ministries at their pleasure. At another time a resolute king, by bringing into play the means still left in his power, can win over most of the Commons to his side, and carry out his will in every part of the State. It is clear, however, that any great change in the way of choosing men to sit in Parliament might take away from the king and the great folk the power of getting any kind of vote they want from the Commons, and might thus alter very much the manner of ruling the people. Such a change has since come, as will be told in a later work in this series.

But for a hundred years the people were pretty well satisfied with the order of things they lived under, and desired no change. Many men were growing rich, trade was spreading swiftly, there was a rude plenty among the tillers of the soil, and there was little complaining. And there is much in the history of this time for English men to be proud of. It is true, they lost the American colonies of their own planting, but, on the other hand, they twice overcame in war the most warlike European power, wrested from this same power its great American colonies, crushed its strength in India, and began building up in that country a grand empire for themselves.

*THE FIRST MINISTERS, OR HEADS OF THE
MINISTRIES WHICH HELD OFFICE
UNDER KING GEORGE III.*

Mr William Pitt [afterwards Lord Chatham]	from [June 1757] to Oct	1761
Earl of Bute	„ Oct 1761 „ April	1763
Mr George Grenville	„ April 1763 „ June	1765
Marquess of Rockingham	„ July 1765 „ July	1766
Pitt, Earl of Chatham	„ July 1766 „ Oct	1768
Duke of Grafton	„ Oct 1768 „ Jan	1770
Lord North	„ Jan 1770 „ Mar	1782
Marquess of Rockingham	„ Mar 1782 „ July	1782
Earl of Shelburne	„ July 1782 „ Feb	1783
Duke of Portland (Coalition Ministry)	„ April 1783 „ Dec	1783
Mr William Pitt (the younger)	„ Dec 1783 „ Feb	1801
Mr Addington	„ Feb 1801 „ April	1804
Mr William Pitt	„ May 1804 „ Jan	1806
Lord Grenville (Ministry of All the Talents)	„ Feb 1806 „ Mar	1807
Duke of Portland	„ Mar 1807 „ Oct	1809
Mr Spencer Perceval	„ Oct 1809 „ May	1812
Lord Liverpool	„ May 1812 „ [April	1827]

BOOK VII

ENGLAND DURING THE AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN WARS

INTRODUCTION

THE period of English history between 1760 and 1820 is full of great wars

(1) England had much fighting to do in America, where she was beaten. She was fighting for a bad cause, and freedom and good government came from her defeat. While America gained very much, England lost little more than the lives and the money spent in the war.

(2) In India she was successful. There her cause was the cause of peace and good government. For she began to understand the duty of governing honestly, justly, and carefully, and so there English power has thriven.

(3) The greatest war was against France. All Europe was thrown into confusion by the French Revolution, and England could not remain at peace, as she wished. Englishmen had to do all they could to save their independence, and they saved it.

(4) This French war was bad for England in several ways. She had just begun to find out that she had many needful reforms and changes to make at home. These

had to do especially with the management of Ireland, the choice of representatives to the House of Commons, the regulation of trade and manufactures, the raising of taxes, and the criminal laws. She had a great minister, Pitt the younger, who understood the work, and would have done it, but the war put off the thought of these things and they could not be attended to till it was over. Moreover, the waste of money and the destruction of trade made England poor and discontented for a long time.

CHAPTER I

THE CAUSES OF THE QUARREL

1 THE English Colonies in North America had joined with spirit in the war against France (1756-1763), and the interests of the mother country and the colonies had been alike while France threatened. The peace of Paris, Feb 1763, left the colonists without fear of future disturbance. The thirteen colonies then reached from the sea to the St Lawrence and the Lakes, to the Ohio and the Mississippi, though the settlers were mostly near the seaboard. Of these thirteen, a northern group of four consisted of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, then came a middle group of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, and a southern group of five, Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas North and South, and Georgia. The lands in all were somewhat thinly inhabited, the people were hardy and independent, not wealthy, yet having few, if any, very poor amongst them.

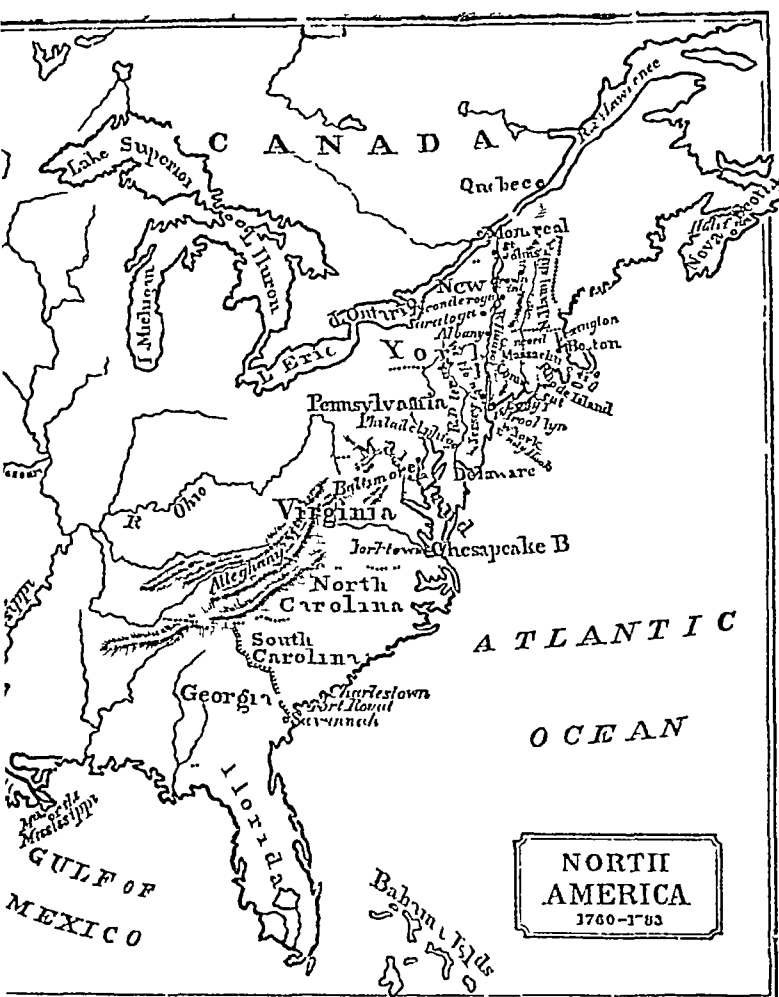
2 The relations between the mother country and the

colonies had never been fixed very accurately, and disagreements had arisen from time to time. The ^{Old dis} ^{agreements} colonists complained of neglect, of bad governors, of unfair laws and rules. Many points had never been settled, such as the rights of the colonists to take possession of the lands lying further west, their rights of trading, and the right of Parliament to levy taxes on them. The home government claimed rights about these things which the colonists did not admit.

3 It was out of a question as to the right of taxation that the great quarrel at last arose. Questions about trade might have righted themselves in time. Although there was some feeling of the hardship of the Navigation laws, which did not allow the colonies to trade with any country except Great Britain, yet this policy of commercial monopoly was usual, and it had grown with the growth of the colonies. The wealth which flowed to some persons from it was seen, the injury to the whole community was less plain, and a widespread system of smuggling, by which foreign produce was brought in without payment of the lawful import duties, toned down much of the evil of such laws.

4 The case soon became quite changed when King George III and his government set on foot a plan for ^{Taxation} taxing the American colonies. Whether England could lawfully tax the colonies was uncertain, it was certain that she had not heretofore taxed them, and that they had never acknowledged that she had any such right of taxation, the Assembly of Massachusetts had once plainly said that she had no such right.

5 The colonies were becoming more important, richer, and better known since the late war. The king, on the other hand, wished to have more control over them, and to keep down the independent spirit shown by some



of the Assemblies In England heavy taxes were levied to pay for the late war, and to keep up a larger army

Townshend's plan of raising revenue One of the ministers, Charles Townshend, a brilliant speaker but a headstrong statesman, led Parliament to think that the taxes in England might be lessened by raising a revenue in America, Mr Grenville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, wished to stop the American smuggling and to enforce the Navigation laws

6 The plan of the ministry proposed to 'grant duties in the Colonies and Plantations of America,' stating, **The Stamp Act, 1765** 'that it was just and necessary that a revenue should be raised there' In 1765 the Stamp Act was passed, requiring law papers in America to bear stamps much as they do now in this country This put forward the claim of Parliament to tax a country which sent no representatives to Parliament Little attention was paid to the remonstrances of the colonies, and few thought that they would resist

7 The colonies were probably not well able to pay taxes to England at that time, for they were in debt for their own share of the war Perhaps the **Resistance of the colonies.** Assemblies might have voted sums of money, but the colonists did not so much think of the difficulty of raising money, they were angry at the way in which the ministers were trying to get it from them In North and South alike men made up their minds to resist, the Virginian Assembly in May 1765 declared that taxation without their consent was illegal, and almost at the same time a meeting at New York of delegates from nine colonies used the same words Moreover the people would not use the stamps, and documents were everywhere accepted as legal without them

8 In July 1765 a Whig ministry under Lord Rocking-

ham succeeded to power Among its members was General Conway, and among its supporters Edmund Burke, who became a most strong defender of the colonists After some inquiry, during which Benjamin Franklin, the agent of Pennsylvania, was examined before a committee of the House of Commons, the Stamp Act was done away with (July 1766)

Repeal of
the Stamp
Act, 1766

9 There was a change of ministry again in the same summer, and a new Government was formed by Pitt, as has been told before Pitt soon retired from any active share in public business, and Townshend again guided the ministers in dealing with America. A new Revenue Act (1767) imposed duties in America on tea and five other articles, to raise money 'for the administration of justice' and 'the support of the civil government there.' The colonists were firm in resisting all such taxation, great or small, laid upon them by England Seeing this, the new ministry of Lord North in 1770 did away with all duties save that on tea, 'upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce' It was useless to give up some of the duties, for the Americans said there was no right to lay on them any at all, whether the tax was on one article or on six, whether the duty was great or small, made no real matter

Townshend's
Revenue
Act, 1767

10 Other difficulties also arose about this time At Boston citizens aided in rescuing from the police the crew of a sloop who were charged with smuggling Ill-feeling grew between the citizens and the soldiers, who were now used to keep the people quiet. A quarrel took place at Boston between citizens and soldiers in March 1770 it ended in the death of some citizens, the removal of the troops, and the conviction of two soldiers for manslaughter, all this

Ill feeling
in Massa-
chusetts.

made the feelings of the people of Massachusetts more bitter than before

11 The colonists left off using tea, and when the government would not withdraw the duty, some tea-ships in Boston harbour were boarded, and their cargoes were thrown into the sea, on this the ministry tried to punish the whole colony (Dec 1773) The port of Boston was to be closed, and the charter of the colony taken away, the Assembly was dissolved But the spirit of the people could not be so put down, to the last the Assembly protested against such doings as illegal, and encouraged the people to hold to their rights As other colonies felt with them they got ready to resist, and a *Convention* or meeting of representatives, chosen without the consent of the Governor, sat and managed the affairs of the colony

12 Towards the end of 1774 it was plain that war was at hand In England the king and his minister Lord North, who did whatever the king wished, and had a large majority in the House of Commons, were set on harsh measures A small body of the men who thought for themselves, and thought wisely, such as Chatham and Burke, were in favour of giving way to the colonists The great trading towns were on the same side But the Whigs, as these men were called, were not popular, Englishmen in general neither knew nor cared much about the feelings of the colonists Public opinion on the whole was on the side of the king and the government.

13 In America a Congress of fifty-five delegates, from all the thirteen colonies except Georgia, met at Philadelphia in September 1774. They drew up a Declaration of Rights, claiming for themselves all the liberties of Englishmen Full of sympathy for Massachusetts, they passed resolutions

The Boston
tea ships

War at
hand

First
meeting of
Congress.

pointing to a stoppage of all trade with Great Britain. They issued addresses to the people of Great Britain, and to the people of Canada, and a petition to the king. They behaved wisely and moderately, and separated after calling another Congress for May 1775.

14. Lord North was willing in 1775 that the colonists should no longer be taxed, but the king was still determined to punish them for their rebellious spirit. The Houses of Parliament also felt as he did, and would not listen to the wise advice of Chatham and Burke, so the last chance of peace was lost. Meanwhile, in Massachusetts and in Virginia men were arming. Although the power, resources, and population of England would seem to give her the advantage, the colonies were strong in the hardy habits and stubborn spirit of their people, in the great size of the country, and in the distance over sea from England. If they had not trained soldiers or generals, still almost every settler was used to carry arms, and they knew the country, it might be hard to get money and other things wanted for a war, but their own needs were few, and they were ready to bear much in defence of their homes.

CHAPTER II

THE FIGHTING IN AMERICA — 1775-1782

1 THE first fighting was in Massachusetts, in which colony Parliament had in February 1775 declared that 'a rebellion existed'. The colonists had a store of arms at Concord, a town about eighteen miles north-west of Boston. General Gage, who was governor of the colony and commander of the forces at Boston, secretly sent a force in April to take or destroy these

Fighting at
Lexington

stores Men got to know of this, and gathered to resist. At Lexington, ten miles from Boston, fighting began, and seven men were killed The arms still in store at Concord were destroyed, and after a smart skirmish the troops began their homeward march They were harassed all the way by the colonists, who fired at them from behind the hedges, but fresh troops came out from Boston to help them, and they got back to barracks having lost about 270 men, while less than 100 was the loss of the other side

2 From this time there was war between England and her American colonies Ill-feeling and even hatred

soon grew up between the two peoples The
 Connecticut king was firm in the resolve to reduce 'the rebels,' and the mass of the English people agreed with him, though they did not care much In America, while many colonists remained 'loyal,' the help they gave was not great compared with the fierce resistance of the majority in almost every part At first the war went on chiefly in the four Northern or New England colonies Massachusetts led the way, quickly followed by Connecticut. The legislature of Connecticut sent a force which surprised the little garrisons of Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain, these successes, though small, were cheering, and brought the colonists stores and guns and powder, which they greatly needed

3 Congress met for its second session at Philadelphia in May 1775, and the moderate party in it was weaker

Washington than before Measures were taken for raising
 made com money, and a commander-in-chief was elected,
 mander in chief George Washington, of Virginia. He had

earned some reputation in the war against the French, when in 1754 he attacked Fort Duquesne, he had a well-deserved character for moderation, public spirit, and honour It was very needful that the command in

war should be given to one great soldier For a danger which threatened the colonies was that local interests and jealousies should prevent them from holding together as one country, since each colony had been used to manage itself, and had been quite independent of the rest Congress as yet had no real power, and could not do much more than advise what was best

4. The English Governors retired from the Southern colonies, and Virginia, under Patrick Henry, began to make open resistance, Massachusetts acted for herself without waiting for Congress Round Boston men fought with such generals as they could find General Gage was joined by a large body of fresh troops in May, and then made up his mind to fortify Bunker's Hill, a height on the peninsula which commands Boston On the other side a strong body of Americans was sent to occupy the hill during the night Next afternoon, in the sight of all Boston, the English stormed the hill The ground was difficult, and they were twice beaten back, but in a third attack the hill was taken with great loss The victory was with the English, but on the Americans, who fought most stubbornly, the effect was not that of a defeat, and the day has always been counted among their national successes

Battle of
Bunker's
Hill, May
1775

5 In Congress the minority of able men, who aimed at independence of England and union among themselves, gained ground and began to lead the country Late in the autumn Congress agreed to attempt a great thing, and invaded Canada Montgomery, a soldier who had become a settler in New York, with a force of 3,000 men took St Johns and Montreal, intending to pass down the St Lawrence to Quebec, but his army dwindled away, as his men only served for short periods Another force of 1,000 men, under Benedict Arnold, had been sent from Massachusetts up the Kennebec river to

Invasion of
Canada.

join Montgomery. They had to find their way through the rough unsettled country that now is the State of Maine, and round the north of the Green Mountains. This band was almost starved and lost, but somewhat more than half reached Quebec early in December. The united forces then numbered scarcely a thousand, it was hopeless to take the city with so few men, but an assault was made, Montgomery was killed, and his division was driven back. Arnold, his second in command, was wounded while attacking the lower city, and his division was overpowered. The Americans lost 160 killed and 426 were made prisoners, while 20 was the loss of the garrison. Even after this failure Arnold stayed till May, attempting a blockade, then he retreated before General Carleton, and all Canada was regained by the English.

6 Early in March 1776 Washington, who had hitherto been drilling and training his army while keeping watch over Boston, was ready to fight. He sent English troops leave Boston, 1776 General Thomas to occupy Dorchester Heights, which from the south commanded Boston city and harbour and the British lines on Boston neck. General Howe, who had succeeded Gage, was unable to drive them from their position. He had long thought that Boston was a bad place for his headquarters, so he now took his troops away and retired to Halifax, the English never again had any real hold on the Northern or New England States.

7 The colonies now began to listen more and more to the counsels of the extreme men, this was natural when war had once begun. So long as it was only talked about, however bitter the talk might be, there was hope that things might be quietly settled. But when once war had broken out, and Americans were glorying in feats of arms done

Declaration
of Independ-
ence July
4, 1776.

against the English, the desire of settling matters grew funt and died away. The need of some form of independent government became pressing, and in June 1776, on the motion of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, Congress agreed that these united colonies are and ought to be free and independent States'. A committee of five delegates from five states, Adams of Massachusetts, Franklin of Pennsylvania, Jefferson of Virginia, Livingston of New York, Sherman of Connecticut, drew up a draft of the Declaration of Independence. With some changes it was passed by Congress, and published, as the Declaration of Independence, on July 4, 1776. It was signed on that day, or soon after, by delegates from all the thirteen States. The Declaration was a bond of union, but it did nothing, and nothing could be done at the time, to join the separate States under one government so as to make what is called a Confederation. Congress also sent Franklin and two others to try to get help from the French Government in their struggle for freedom.

8 During this summer many more soldiers were on their way from England, and Admiral Lord Howe was sent out with powers to treat for peace, but no peace could be made. New York, one of the Middle States, now became the chief seat of war. This State had not been very eager to resist England, the loyalists were many, and the English authorities thought that in this and the other Middle States much help would be got. The city of New York was held by Washington, who had an army of 10,000 men, which was increased early in August to 27,000 by new levies of militia, who were not however very good soldiers. General Howe, with the troops which had left Boston, sailed from Halifax and reached Sandy Hook at the end of June. He landed 9,000 men on Staten Island

General
Howe
attacks
New York,
1776

and was well received. In August the main body of the new troops from England reached the general, who was thus in command of about 25,000 men. He then sent a division to the south-west point of Long Island, who soon faced the American position near Brooklyn. After three days of skirmishing, the English forces routed the Americans, and made them withdraw from Long Island, soon the English crossed the East River and entered the city of New York. The Americans, unable to hold the neighbouring country, crossed the river Hudson, and when Lord Cornwallis followed closely, Washington retreated with all speed through New Jersey into Pennsylvania.

9 Thus the States of New York and New Jersey were won back, and the English held the country as far as the river Delaware. So threatening did ^{New Jersey,} ₁₇₇₆ things look, that the Congress left Philadelphia for a safer meeting-place at Baltimore. Howe ought to have pressed on across the Delaware, and to have forced the remains of the American army to fight while it was out of heart. Instead of doing this, he dispersed his troops in quarters in New Jersey, where they became unpopular, and then he waited for the ice on the river. Thus Washington found time to get new soldiers together, Congress and the country had time to recover from the shock of defeat and misfortune. At the very end of the year, Washington surprised Trenton, an English post, and a few days later, again crossing the river Delaware, passed to the rear of Lord Cornwallis' army. He then gradually recovered almost all New Jersey. The whole fighting of this year was thus made a success for the Americans, for the English generals, with far better soldiers, had had to give way to Washington.

10 The summer of 1777 was marked by an attempt to cut off the Northern States from the rest. General

Burgoyne started from Canada to march down the great valley of the lakes and the valley of the Hudson, and meet a force under Clinton from New York.

Leaving Crown Point at the end of June, he pushed on to Ticonderoga, which was left by

Burgoyne's
march from
Canada,
1777

its garrison, then, crossing a most difficult country, full of forest, streams, and swamps, made still more difficult by artificial obstacles, he found Fort Edward also empty. By this time the militia of the New England States had come together, they were mostly untrained men, but were well armed, brave, used to hardships, and very angry on account of the cruel doings of the Indian savages who had come with General Burgoyne. From Fort Edward to Albany was fifty miles, and Burgoyne dared not go on till he had got proper supplies, so a month was spent. Then the army crossed to Saratoga, and found the enemy under Generals Gates and Arnold, in front of Stillwater, lining a low range of hills called Behm's Heights. After a hard fight, the English remained masters of the ground, but had gained no real advantage. For more than a fortnight Burgoyne waited for news of Clinton, then he tried, without success, to break through the enemy's lines. With great difficulty the army retreated to Saratoga, ten miles, there it was surrounded, and all supplies were cut off. A Convention was signed on October 17, allowing the English to lay down their arms and receive provisions, thence they marched as prisoners to Massachusetts. About 3,500 fighting men, or 5,750 in all, were made prisoners. This Convention of Saratoga was the turning-point in the war, it was an enormous disaster for the English cause.

11 Meanwhile, in the Middle States, Washington had been able to do little, because of the smallness of his army. Late in the spring (1777), General Howe decided on leaving New Jersey to reach Philadelphia by another

way Embarking some 14,000 men at New York, he sailed southward, entered the Chesapeake, and reached the Head of Elk, seventy miles from Philadelphia. Washington, in September, met him half-way between Philadelphia and the Head of Elk, where flowed a stream, the Brandywine. The Americans were routed, and Washington could not prevent the advance of the English, who entered the city. But General Howe found that he could do little towards winning back Pennsylvania, and he failed to draw Washington to a battle. This success, therefore, did not at all make up for the great defeat at Saratoga.

12 In England the news of the surrender at Saratoga made even the ministers wish for peace. Unfortunately, the same news made the French Government ready to enter into treaties of alliance and commerce with the United States (February 1778). Lord North then passed a bill giving up altogether the claim of Parliament to tax the colonies, and was ready to do anything short of granting them independence.

13 This was a time when the war might have ceased without dishonour to England. England was ready to own that she had been in the wrong. She was willing to grant all that Americans had claimed, freedom, with some slight tie to the mother country, or even independence, as Lord Rockingham thought, might have been conceded. But when France began to interfere in the war, its meaning was changed. The honour of England seemed at stake, even those who had been against the war before, now thought that it must be carried on boldly. Thus Chatham, in the House of Lords, declared he would never consent to 'an ignominious surrender of the rights of the empire.' 'Shall we now,' he said, 'fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon?' And his death

in May 1778 put an end to the last hope of reconciliation with America.

14. The certainty of war with France at once began to mar English plans. Orders were sent out to the new commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, to retire from Philadelphia to New York. The Americans instantly retook the city and almost all parts of the Middle States. New York was again the head-quarters of the English, but as troops were sent thence to Halifax, Bermuda, and the West Indies, to guard against the French fleet, the army did little. And want of union between the States, quarrels in Congress itself, difficulties of raising money, men, and supplies, and jealousies in the army, hindered Washington from doing any great thing.

15. In 1780, men were made more bitter by a very unfortunate event. General Arnold, a man of mark, who had held important commands at Saratoga and at Philadelphia, was now at West Point, a fort dominating the upper part of the State of New York. This he treacherously offered to hand over to Sir Henry Clinton, the terms were to be arranged with Major André, aide de-camp to the English general. He visited Arnold, and was taken prisoner on his way back in disguise, and with a pass given by Arnold. Arnold had time to escape to the English lines, André was treated as a spy. His plea of a safe-conduct from Arnold was not unfairly met by the reply that Arnold was a traitor and a safe-conduct granted for a treacherous purpose was not valid. Washington was unyielding, and André was hanged. It was natural enough that the Americans should insist on making an example of him, but when they hanged him on the charge that he was a spy, they were really revenging themselves on him for

English
leave Phil-
adelphia.

Major
André.

the treachery of Arnold, whom they could not reach. By the English, André was honoured as a martyr to his zeal for king and country.

16 Sir Henry Clinton's new plan of operations carries as to the Southern colonies, where loyal feeling was still rather strong. In November 1778 a small force occupied Savannah, the capital of Georgia. From this point the troops and their supporters carried the war into the two Carolinas, and seized Port Royal, while an attack made by the French and American forces was driven back. Early in the spring of 1780 Clinton took Charlestown, and then left Lord Cornwallis in command. General Gates, who was sent to oppose him, failed, and the South seemed to be entirely won back by the English. Cornwallis was so sure of this, that he formed a plan of leaving Lord Rawdon to keep the South under control, while he himself marched northwards to join Clinton.

17 This attempt was beyond his power, and he failed. In order to cross the rivers, he had to go far inland, the country was difficult, and the people did not help him, so that he could not get food for his men. The Americans, though routed at Guildford in North Carolina, in March 1781, followed Cornwallis as he retired to Wilmington on the coast. There the English stayed three weeks. At last Cornwallis reached Yorktown in the Chesapeake Bay, and there waited for Clinton to join him by sea. But there he was shut in on all sides. Washington and La Fayette, with a force almost three times as large as his own, marched into Virginia and hemmed in Yorktown, the French fleet came from the West Indies, blocked the York river, and cut him off from the sea. In October, Cornwallis surrendered, after several brave attempts which had only proved his position to be hopeless. Further

south the English had been driven back, till, at the end of 1781, they held nothing but Charlestown and Savannah

18 This was really the end of the war, though in some places fighting continued on a small scale The English still held New York till November 1783, after Lord North peace had been made But feeling in England resigns, 1782 was now steadily changing into keen dislike of the war, the majority which supported the Government in the House of Commons grew smaller and smaller In February 1782 General Conway proposed an address praying the king 'that the war might no longer be pursued,' and the Government threw it out by one vote only Another motion of like effect was proposed and carried, the ministry could no longer stay in office, and in March 1782 Lord North resigned

19 By the union of the two bodies of Whigs, a new ministry was formed under Lord Rockingham, The Whig ministry with Lord Shelburne as Colonial Secretary They were in favour of making peace, and Lord Shelburne at once opened negotiations for this purpose

CHAPTER III

WAR WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN

1 DURING these later years of the American war, England's task had been made hopeless by the state of things in Europe Many powers were at war with England, and at one time almost all Europe was openly or secretly hostile. In March 1778 a treaty of alliance was made between France and America. War between England and France soon followed A French fleet during the summer helped the Americans, and afterwards hovered about the West

Indies and took possession of Dominica. Nearer home, the Channel fleet, under Admiral Keppel, was met by a far more powerful French fleet under D'Orvilliers, and, after fighting, retired to harbour.

2 Next year the war in Europe became more serious, for Spain joined France. England was greatly disturbed

Weakness of England. by threats of invasion. The enemies' fleets were not only superior on the open seas, but

also masters of the Channel, which was swarming with

American and French *privateers*, or ships sent out,

not by government, but by private persons, who wished

to gain what they could by attacking the enemy's vessels.

Ireland could not be defended, commerce was nearly at

an end, the English fleets could only try to keep the

enemy off. The French even attacked Jersey, and the

Spaniards besieged Gibraltar.

3 In 1780 arose a quarrel with the neutral powers which left England for a time without a friend. England

Right of search. had claimed and exercised Right of Search, that is, the right to stop and search all mer-

chant vessels sailing under the flag of any neutral nation,

and to take them if they were found to be carrying supplies

to the enemy. It was a claim galling to the dignity and

harmful to the trade of nations who were at peace, and it

unfairly placed their interests at the mercy of those who

were at war. The Empress Catherine of Russia, angry

at the doings of Spain and England, put forth a Declaration,

stating that 'free ships make free goods,' and contraband

goods, that is, goods which a nation at war might

seize anywhere, were those only that a treaty might have

declared to be such, that the blockade of a port was not

to be acknowledged unless there were really cruisers off

the port to stop merchant ships from entering. Thus,

to protect their own interests, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark made a league called the Armed Neutrality. Hol-

land and Prussia afterwards joined, and France and Spain agreed to the Declaration

4 As might be expected, in 1781-2 England was hard pressed. In European waters, the French and Spanish fleets swept the seas, and although Admiral Parker beat the Dutch near the Dogger Bank, Gibraltar yet, on the whole, the enemy had command of the Channel. Minorca was lost, and Gibraltar was closely besieged. All through 1782 General Elliot and his garrison defended the place, and beat back every attempt to take it. In October Admiral Lord Howe relieved the garrison with a powerful fleet, and Gibraltar was saved, though the siege was kept up till the news of peace arrived. There are few more glorious deeds of daring and endurance in English history than the defence of Gibraltar by General Elliot and his brave garrison.

5 In the West Indies Admiral Rodney could do little for a time. At last a glorious victory fell to his lot. The French Admiral de Grasse had taken most of the Leeward Islands, and was threatening Jamaica, which Rodney meant to protect.

Anchored in St Lucia, he watched for the French fleet from Port Royal in Martinico. After some days of straggling and rather confused fighting, Rodney forced a general battle. The admiral led the way and broke the French line. The battle lasted for eleven hours. 'I believe the severest ever fought at sea,' Rodney himself wrote. The Count de Grasse at last struck his flag, the whole fleet was broken up, and from that day the French were no more masters of the seas.

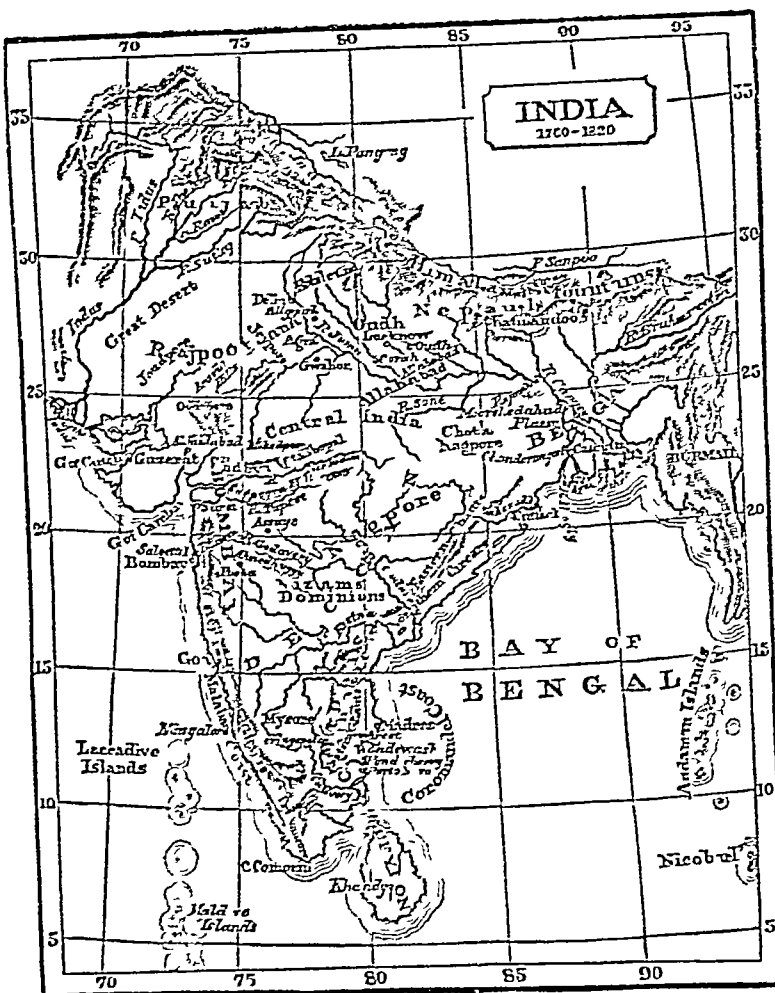
6 The new ministry in 1782 was ready to make peace, acknowledging the independence of the United States. France and Spain were by no means desirous of peace, but the Americans willingly entered into negotiations with Lord Shelburne and welcomed the end of war. A

treaty was signed at Paris in November 1782, but was dependent on peace being made between Great Britain and France. Treaties with France and Spain soon followed. England gave back some of her conquests, as Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and St Lucia, gave up Tobago, St Pierre, Miquelon, and got some West India islands. Spain eagerly desired to have Gibraltar, but Englishmen, proud of the glorious defence, were resolved to keep it. Minorca and the Floridas were yielded. The treaties were all signed at Versailles in September 1783. Some men were loud in calling them disgraceful, but those who knew how hardly pressed England was, and how the increase of debt and waste of men were crushing her, saw that peace must be had, and that the terms were fair. England came with honour out of the war against these powerful European foes. She had met with disasters in a bad cause in America, but still her soldiers and sailors had done their duty well.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLES OF INDIA

1 IN India, Clive had saved the English settlements, and had put an end to the power of the French. He had come back to England in 1760, but things went so badly that it was needful to send him out again in 1765. He stayed two years, and during that time he did three great things. He enlarged the Company's dominions by taking over for ever Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, he put a stop to the private trading of the civil service and to the plan of taking presents, and he brought the army into proper obedience. We have now to see how the English made their power felt all over India, and how the native States one after another fell under the control of England.



This was due partly to the courage of the English, and to the peace and good order which they made where they ruled. But it was also due partly to the divisions among the natives themselves—for the people of India were not all of one race or of one religion, and the country was broken up under many governments.

2 The people to whom the land belonged in very early times were a very dark race, not much civilised. Some tribes of them still remain in the high-lands of Central India, and also in the hills and forests of almost all parts, among the best known are the Santals in Bengal along the Rajmahal hills, the Kôls in Chota Nagpore, the Bheels in Rajpootana, and the Gonds. They are mostly a quiet, simple people, who have never formed great States of their own, but have always lived to themselves, obeying the rulers of other races. They gave the English little trouble.

3 A great and more civilised people came in upon these tribes, passing over the Indus and down the valley of the Ganges. These spread as settlers all over the land. This race, called Hindoo, though united by one religion, split off into many States. The most important that lasted to the days of English rule were the States of Rajpootana, as Oodypore and Jey-pore, and the Marhatta States of Poona, Guzerat, Baroda, and the territories of Sindia and Holkar. Besides these the greatest number of the people in most parts of India are of the Hindoo race, and in many parts tribes, which were not Hindoos by race have become Hindoos in religion, as in Mysore and the furthest parts of southern India.

4. Again, men of other races and another religion had come across the Indus from Central Asia, these were Mohammedans, who began to pour into India during the eleventh century. They were eager to con-

quer the rich Hindoo kingdoms, and longed to put down the idolatrous religion. Piece by piece they overran the land, and beat down most of the kingdoms and ruled over them. They set up a great empire, with a capital at Delhi, then they added province after province, all north India as far as the river Nerbudda, all Bengal, and the Deccan as far as the river Kistna. And when the empire broke up, still many of its parts were ruled by Mohammedans who, like the Nizam in the Deccan and Hyder Ali in Mysore, were lords over Hindoo subjects. The hatred between the two races of Hindoos and Mohammedans helped the English to spread their authority over both.

CHAPTER V

INDIA UNDER WARREN HASTINGS

1 WHILE Clive had stayed in India he had ruled firmly, but after his return to England in 1767 the loss of his firmness and honesty was soon felt. It would be scarcely too much to say that greed and oppression, misrule and false dealing, marked English rule in Bengal and Madras during the few years before 1773. The tales that reached home roused men's anger, and when in 1770 a famine killed about one third of the people of Bengal, the home government was forced to interfere.

2 A new constitution was given to the East India Company under 'the Regulating Act' of 1773. This gathered the three settlements of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, or *Presidencies* as they were called, under the Governor of Bengal, it gave him the title of Governor-General, and set up a council of

four members to help him. A Supreme Court of Justice was also made at Calcutta, like the English Court at Westminster, and thus English law was brought into India.

3 The Act named, as the first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, who had been Governor of Bengal since 1772. He had been long in India, and ^{First Governor General} knew about the country. He had sided with Clive in trying to make the English rule better in Bengal. Some reforms he had already begun. He found the gathering of taxes in the hands of natives who oppressed and robbed the people. He made a new and better settlement of the taxes, and removed the capital from Moorshedabad to Calcutta. Hastings ruled on the whole justly, strongly, and wisely, but he did some things which were cruel and unjust, for which he has been rightly blamed. Being pressed by the Directors of the Company in England for money, he made an unfair bargain with the Vizier of Oude, who coveted the neighbouring territory of Rohilcund, while Hastings wanted money. Hastings sold to the Vizier the districts of Corah and Allahabad, and listening to his talk about the bad faith of the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe who had lately settled near him, sold the services of English troops, and became for money the tool of the Vizier, who would make no terms with the Rohillas. They were, perhaps, dangerous neighbours, but they had given no cause for war, and the attack upon them was wicked. By means of English troops their chiefs were slain and themselves driven across the Ganges or enslaved.

4 The Governor-General found his new position no easy one, the Regulating Act had not laid down his ^{The Council} powers exactly, and his council instead of helping him often went against him. Three of the four members, Francis, Monson, and Clavering,

who came from England with their minds set against Hastings, began to oppose him at the very first meeting of the council. They knew little about Indian matters, and were neither as wise nor as sensible as Hastings. But they were impressed with the evils of English rule in India, and they fancied it was their business to reform everything. The result was soon seen, there was nothing but quarrelling, unfair dealing, and scandals. Even in these difficulties Hastings changed the way of levying taxes with great advantage to the people of India and to the Company. He did much to stop bribery in the civil service, he drew up a code of rules for the courts which showed that he was a great and wise law-maker. He was vigorous enough to impress the native mind and just enough to earn their goodwill, and beyond all this Hastings carried on great wars, and saved Madras when its own government was feeble enough to ruin any state.

5 During this time the English power was threatened by the Mahrattas. These were the men of the great Hindoo empire of the Deccan, which had been founded by Sevajee in the seventeenth century. The Mah ratta war The Peshwa, as the head of their race was called, could not keep hold over his generals. Four new powers grew up, the Raja of Nagpore, the Gaikwar in Guzerat, Sindia, and Holkar. At the headquarters of the Mahrattas in Poona, a regency on one side with a usurper on the other had thrown all into confusion. Without asking the consent of Hastings, the Governor of Bombay supported the usurper Raghoba, and received in return the island of Salsette and the port of Bassein. The result was a great war with the whole Mahratta confederation. The Bombay troops, successful at first, presently failed, and after a defeat at Wurgaum nothing but the courage and energy of Hastings saved Bombay itself. An expedition

under General Goddard, sent from the banks of the Jumna to Bombay, reached Surat on the western coast in safety. This was a wonderful march made by less than 5,000 men across more than 1,000 miles of country almost wholly unknown to Englishmen. It was one of the grand rash acts of Hastings, one of those strokes of genius by which he impressed the natives with his greatness. The Mahratta league tried the English power to the extreme. General Goddard took Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzerat (1779), and the Gaikwar agreed to leave the confederation. But this did little good, for a fresh alliance with the Nizam in the Deccan and Hyder Ali, Rajah of Mysore, gave the league courage to attack all three Presidencies at once. Leaving General Goddard to save Bombay from Sindia and Holkar, Hastings first saved Bengal by buying off the Rajah of Nagpore, who deserted the league. With his usual boldness he ventured to send a sepoy army by land to the help of Madras. The Hindoos were forbidden by their religion to go on the sea, and they had lately mutinied rather than obey in order to do so. But they willingly endured the march of 700 miles by land, and bravely fought to save Madras from Hyder Ali. Hastings was able to make a general peace with the Mahrattas in 1782. By the treaty of Salbye, conquests were restored, but the island of Salsette was kept.

6 The peace did not take in Mysore, and its ruler Hyder Ali still pressed hard on Madras. He had rushed upon the Carnatic in 1780 with a large army, well armed, and in part trained by French officers. The Nabob made no resistance, fort after fort fell, and the army drew on towards Madras. Sir Hector Munro tried to relieve Arcot, and another force under Baillie was to join him. But Baillie was defeated, and Munro hurried back to Madras with the loss of his guns. On news of this Hastings was roused. He sent off Sir

Lyre Coote by sea at once with what force he could spare and sent a sepoy expedition along the coast through Cuttack and the Northern Circars Coote retook Arcot which had fallen, relieved Wandewash, and gained a great victory at Porto Novo With small resources and poor support from anyone except Hastings, Coote held his own and beat off all the attempts of Hyder Ali The year 1782 saw the English fortunes in Madras at a low ebb French troops and a French fleet under Admiral Suffrein brought help to Hyder Ali Madras was again besieged by the Mysore army, and was in great danger, but at the end of the year Hyder Ali died, and his son Tippoo hurried his army home to Mysore The treaty of 1783 with France relieved the English from a threatening danger in India

7 In the end of 1784 Hastings gave up his office, and went back to England early in the next year, leaving the English territories in India at peace He left behind him a great name as a strong ruler both in peace and war He had always at heart not only the interests of England, but also the welfare of the Indian peoples whom he ruled A great man, always patriotic though not always scrupulous enough, he made a new great empire in the East while the English king and his ministers were losing the great dominion in the West Hastings and Clive were the two greatest Englishmen who had to do with India

8 Not long after the return of Hastings, an attack was made in the House of Commons on his conduct in India. After a time a resolution was carried, ordering his impeachment at the bar of the House of Lords The movers in the matter were his old enemy Francis, and Burke and Fox The ministry were in a difficulty Pitt, and Dundas, who was now the President of the Board of Control,¹

Warren
Hastings
leaves India,
1784

Impeach
ment of
Warren
Hastings,
1787

¹ See page 585

had never liked Hastings, they believed many of the stories told against him and against English rule in India, but they did not want to have things looked into. They consented to the motion, but refused to help in the management of the impeachment. So the managers were chosen from the Opposition side of the House, Burke, Fox, and Sheridan being the chief among them. Articles of impeachment were drawn up containing nine charges, which were afterwards increased to twenty-two. The trial began in February 1788. Burke, in a fine speech, which it took four days to deliver, accused Hastings and those under him of every kind of cruelty and wrong doing. Only four out of all the charges were gone into fully. These charged him with robbery, cruelty, and taking bribes. The prosecution spread over nearly five years, and the whole trial lasted more than seven years, in which time the court sat altogether 145 days. Judgment of acquittal on all charges was given in April 1795. The delay had allowed people to forget the fine speech and the exaggerations of Burke and Sheridan. And as time went on, most men thought that Hastings was being unfairly treated. Before the end of the trial Lord Cornwallis had come back from India, and was able to give strong evidence of the good results of Hastings' rule.

CHAPTER VI

INDIA FROM 1783-1813

1 FOR some time there had been a feeling that the mode of governing India needed to be changed. The territory had become so large that the king's government could no longer leave it entirely in the hands of a company of traders. The Coalition government of Fox and North, which succeeded Shel-

✓ Fox's India Bill, 1783.

burne's ministry in 1783, presented their India Bill to the House of Commons in November of that year. This Bill was prepared by Fox and Burke, who both knew Indian affairs well, and both were deeply impressed with the stories of the mismanagement of the Company. It proposed very great changes. All charters of the Company were to be done away with. The government of India was to be placed for four years in the hands of a Board of seven Commissioners. All accounts were to be laid before Parliament. The Bill was a good one, and many of the things which it proposed have been done since, but at the time, the changes seemed too great to be made. It passed the House of Commons, but the king got the House of Lords to throw it out. So the Coalition ministry had to resign, and Pitt became first minister.

2 Pitt also found India a pressing question. No sooner had the general election in 1784 given him a majority, than he brought in and carried an India Bill through both Houses. This Bill was approved by the Company, and aimed at reforming abuses with as little change as possible. It appointed a Board of Control, which, as a department of the English government, should take some of the management of Indian matters away from the Directors. So that while the Directors kept their right of appointing to all offices, the king's ministers could at any time of danger make the Directors do as they pleased.

3 In 1786 Lord Cornwallis, who had commanded in America, became Governor-General. He ruled India well, as he had great powers, and was well supported by Pitt. He did much to cure the bribery and corruption among the civil servants, and by paying them better, took away the excuse for it.

4. He managed a difficult war with Mysore well,

though the need of the war is not clear The Nizam War with having applied for help against Tippoo of Tippoo Mysore, Lord Cornwallis allowed it to be known that he did not count Tippoo as an ally Soon after this Tippoo attacked Travancore, and the Governor-General made a vigorous move against him In alliance with the Nizam and the Peshwa he carried on active campaigns and took several strong forts Early in 1792, with 22,000 men and powerful artillery, he threatened Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, a remarkably strong fortress on an island in the river Cauvery The camp, strongly posted on the northern bank of the river, was stormed, and a landing made on the island Then Tippoo yielded, and bought peace at the price of half his dominions and a large sum of money

5 But the fame of Lord Cornwallis rests chiefly on his settlement of the land question of Bengal The Company derived most of its income from the land-tax, and because of bad ways of levying and collecting this tax, agriculture was failing and the *ryots*, or cultivators of the land, were in misery The 'Permanent Settlement' of Cornwallis made over the ownership of land to the *zemindars*, or larger landowners and landholders, who were then to pay the government a fixed sum The interests of the *ryots* were to be guarded by a provision that the land could not be taken from them while they paid rent as at the date of the settlement On the whole, the plan was just and good

6 Sir John Shore governed from 1793 to 1798, five quiet years, during which the Mahratta States grew rapidly

7 In 1798, Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquess Wellesley, was made Governor-General He knew Indian affairs well, and was a man of great ability and firmness, with a real genius for ruling,

and a strong belief in the need of English authority making itself felt throughout India

8 As in the days of Hastings so now again there was danger from the French influence in the native States of India. There were French troops at the court of the Nizam, and with the Peshwa, French
inter
ference and in the service of Sindia. And Tippoo in Mysore had gone so far in making an alliance with the French in Mauritius that they landed a force at Mangalore to join him. Wellesley interfered at once, he partly persuaded and partly forced the two friendly powers, the Nizam and the Peshwa, to put themselves under the protection of the English and send away their French troops.

9 He then demanded that Tippoo should disband his force, but he did not obey. War followed, and in the spring of 1799 English armies marched on Conquest
of Mysore. Seringapatam. General Harris, under whom Colonel Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) was serving, moved with 20,000 men from Madras. From Bombay General Stuart came with a smaller force. Tippoo met Stuart, but failed to turn him, he then hurried off to resist the army from Madras. The English defeated him at Malavelly, and then besieged Seringapatam early in April. A month later General Baird stormed this great fortress, which was desperately defended. Tippoo died fighting in the gateway. So ended the family of the Mysore usurpers, who were fierce Mohammedan despots that had set their feet on the necks of the Hindoos of the Deccan. Lord Wellesley restored a ruler of the old line, and Mysore gave no further trouble. The Deccan was now safe, with the Nizam protected by English troops and no longer independent. The Carnatic, too, now became an English province dependent on the Governor of Madras, and

the Nabob Vizier in Oude was compelled to take, instead of his own troops, a British force for whom he paid a large sum of money

10 The Mysore war had put an end to two great powers, but a third remained, the Mahratta nation Of the several powers into which the race was divided the Peshwa was the head, but all were really independent, and were even rivals The two most ambitious and powerful leaders were Sindia and Holkar These not only made war one upon another, but also as rivals threatened the Peshwa. Lord Wellesley interfered to save the territories of the Peshwa, who was then partly forced, and partly led by his fears of Sindia and Holkar, to agree to the treaty of Bassein 1802, which reduced him to the level of the Nizam, a subject protected by English troops

11 Sindia and the Raja of Nagpore determined not to let the lands of the Peshwa become English according to the treaty of Bassein, so they tried to get Sindia, 1803 Holkar to join them and to make the Peshwa leave his new masters Wellesley found out their plan and was too quick for them, he declared war, August 1803, and at once attacked Sindia on all sides General Wellesley in the Deccan took the great fort of Ahmednuggur and occupied all the district south of the Godavery Then with his small army of 4,500 men he attacked Sindia's entrenched camp of 50,000 men at Assaye, further north Sindia's army fought well, but the English troops simply walked right over his guns and his infantry, with the loss of one third of their number The Mahratta force was broken up, and the remains driven beyond the river Taptee General Lake meanwhile attacked Sindia's possessions in Hindostan proper, which reached from the Sutlej on the west to Allahabad on the east. He took the stronghold of Allygurh, and

pushed on to Delhi where he beat a portion of Sindia's French forces. He next took Agra after a siege, and defeated the enemy in a hard-fought battle at Laswarree. In less than half a year Lord Wellesley had broken the power of the Mahrattas and made his own authority supreme.

12 One Mahratta chief, Holkar, had not joined his rival Sindia, but his habit of plundering his neighbours soon brought him to war with Lord Wellesley, and he too, like the others, had to submit.

Holkar,
1804

13 But before the war was fully over Lord Wellesley was recalled by the authorities in England in 1805. They did not at all like the things that he had done, though he had made England supreme in India. Their desire was for peace and no interference, but Lord Wellesley knew, better than they did, that peace could not be firm till England was able to forbid the native States to tear one another to pieces. Years later, when the opposite plan had been tried, men saw at last that Lord Wellesley had been right.

Recall of
Lord
Wellesley

14 Lord Cornwallis landed in India, and died. His successor, Sir George Barlow, 1805-1807, did the opposite to what Wellesley had done, that is to say, he would not interfere in anything which lay outside of English territory. This meant war on all sides between native States, and the rise of great conquerors such as Holkar and Sindia, who made themselves masters of smaller States which were more friendly to England.

Sir George
Barlow

15 Lord Minto (1807-1812) intended to follow the same plan, but he soon found that he could not leave the native States alone. He could not help interfering so far as to make Runjeet Sing, the greatest of the Sikh leaders, keep to the west of the river Sutlej. So the English frontier was moved from the Jumna as far as the Sutlej. A powerful expedition sent by Lord Minto (1810) took the Isles of Bourbon and Mauritius.

Lord
Minto

from France. This made the Eastern trade of England quite safe by putting an end to the last remnant of French power in Indian waters.

CHAPTER VII

INDIA UNDER THE NEW CHARTER

1 DOWN to this time, by their charter, the East India Company had kept all the trade with India and the East to themselves, other persons could not enter the country to trade or to settle there. Even those missionaries who would have tried to teach the people were forbidden, but now the twenty years, for which the latest charter lasted, were coming to an end. It would soon be needful to ask Parliament for a new one, but Englishmen were no longer willing to let the Company have their own way so much. The ministers too saw that greater freedom of trade with India would be good for England. So the new charter which was given to the Company in 1813 made a great change. Though the Directors did not like it, their monopoly of trade was taken away, and the trade with India, though not with China, was made free to all English merchants. Missionaries were allowed in the country.

2 Lord Moira, Marquess of Hastings, succeeded the Earl of Minto as Governor-General, 1813-1822. At home in former days he had disliked Lord Wellesley's plan of interference, and had said that native States should be left alone. In India he soon changed his opinion, and made known his determination to exercise authority over the whole land, to control native States, and to keep peace between them.

3 His first troubles were with the Nepaulese on the northern frontier, and the Pindaree and Patan freebooters

in central India The power of Nepaul had lately grown, and the Nepaulese, or Goorkhas, had come down into the plains beyond their own frontier After often ravaging the British borders they at last tried to take possession of all lands north of the Ganges Negotiations failed and war became needful The country, a valley enclosed within the lofty ranges of the Himalaya, was most difficult to get at, but it was necessary to strike a decisive blow Four expeditions started from different points to invade the country, and of these, three failed, but the fourth, under General Ochterlony, passed range after range of the mountains, and took fort after fort in spite of a most brave resistance The same general again made a successful campaign early in the next year The Nepaulese, twice defeated, sued for peace when Katmandhoo, the capital, was threatened A treaty of peace was made, and Nepaul has been a friendly neighbour ever since

4 The Pindarees and Patans were robber bands who had long lived by plundering central India In 1815-1817, they crossed the Nerbudda into the English lands, they reached the Kistna, and again as far as the Coromandel coast, burning hundreds of villages and torturing the people Lord Hastings at last determined to make the other powers join with him and put down these robbers The smaller princes, such as Nagpore, Bhopal, Oodypore, and Jeypore, were very glad to have the English to protect them But the interference was not so pleasing to the Peshwa Bajee Rao, or Sindia, or to the chiefs of Holkar's state The Peshwa, who was willing to do anything to lessen the power of the English, openly helped the Pindarees All central India was in confusion But the English power was too strong The Peshwa's forces were overthrown in the battle of Kirkec, and his capital, Poona, was taken The army of Holkar's state was broken at the battle of Mehid-

pore, on the Sipree The Pindaree chiefs, then left to themselves, were no match for the English, their forces were broken up in several fights and disappeared in a few months The great river Indus was now declared to be the boundary of English dominion

5 Thus Lord Hastings' plan was successful, and security and greater prosperity in after years followed

Success of Lord Hastings' policy from keeping the native princes at peace But in England statesmen and the Directors of the Company like did not understand the needs of the English position in India, and believed that increase of territory was the one great evil to be guarded against Yet the growth of English power so far brought peace and security in India that Lord Hastings was able to carry out wise changes, suited to the country Good and peaceful government became possible when the English were no longer afraid of subjects or neighbours. Hastings encouraged the education of the natives, and at the same time helped the growth and freedom of the press and of a public opinion His firm, prudent, and liberal way of ruling was a governing of India for the good of the people of India

CHAPTER VIII

PITT AS A PEACE MINISTER

1 IT has been told before how Pitt was made minister and how by his help the king won in the great constitution struggle against the Whig houses, and set up again the power of the crown It seemed at first as if the king would again have his own way as in the days of Lord North and the American War But it was not really so, for Pitt was strong in the support of the people, which North had never been Pitt felt himself the minister of the Commons rather than of the king

Pitt remained in power for almost eighteen years, December 1783—March 1801, about nine years of peace and about nine years of war. With the support of the king, of the House of Commons, and of the country, he was supreme. With such an able statesman, of commanding ability and powerful will, the king could not have his own way as much in the state as he had before. But even Pitt made common cause with the king, and moving away from his early principles, cared less for the wishes of the people, and became more decidedly the king's Tory minister.

Pitt becomes first minister, 1783.

2 During the early years of Pitt's power he was a wise and capable ruler, and he was willing to trust the people much. He was a peace minister, and his energies were devoted to make the country prosperous. Finance, commerce, parliamentary reform, and the government of Ireland took up his attention.

Reform of the finances

As regards finance he did many useful things. In the late wars the national debt had grown till it reached about 250,000,000*l*. Taxes had been laid on at haphazard to meet the needs as they arose. Pitt set before him the reduction of the debt as an important end of all financial measures. He saved much for the country and encouraged honest dealing by his plan of borrowing money by public contract, and so getting it at the lowest possible interest. And he did much good by publishing the accounts of the money received and paid by government. By lowering the heavy duties on tea, wine, and spirits, which were fast handing over the trade of the country to smugglers, he lessened smuggling, improved trade, and raised the revenue. The payments of customs duties on goods imported, and of excise duties on things made in the country, were very many and very difficult to calculate. By doing away with these many duties,

and fixing instead one single duty on each article, he saved merchants much trouble and made taxation less unpopular. The increase of revenue soon allowed him to take off some of the worst taxes—among others, those on retail shops and on women servants.

3 Pitt also tried to get rid of the high protective duties which crushed the trade of Ireland. These duties were heavy taxes laid on Irish goods, and were intended to enable English manufacturers to make and sell things much cheaper than Irishmen could do. He wished by taking away these duties to give free trade to Ireland, and so to place her in a situation of commercial equality with England. Already since 1780 European produce might be imported through Ireland, the same freedom was now (1784-5) to be extended to American and African trade. Pitt's first proposals passed through the Irish Parliament with one small alteration. After many changes the bill which embodied them was carried in the teeth of the English merchants and manufacturers, and in spite of Fox and the Whigs, who both opposed free trade and did not wish to do anything more for Ireland. But after all it could not be got through the Irish Parliament sitting at Dublin, because Grattan, Flood, and Curran persuaded it to assert its independence of England. A commercial treaty with France (1786) did away with many high duties which were intended to stop trade. Instead of them small duties were fixed, which did not prevent merchandise from being brought in, and yet paid something towards the revenue. Thus the treaty increased the commerce between the two countries, and was a step towards freedom of trade.

4 Following the example of his father, Pitt had early in his life thrown himself earnestly into the question of parliamentary reform, but with little success. In 1785

he brought forward his measure. He proposed to take away the right of sending members to Parliament from thirty-six decayed boroughs, and to give their seventy-two members to the largest counties, and to the cities of London and Westminster. He gave a vote in counties to copyholders, or tenants holding lands under a lord of a manor, and means were provided by which members should be given to populous towns, and be taken from other boroughs which might decay from time to time. But on such a question Pitt's followers would not follow him, and he was beaten by a large majority. He found little support in the country, for it had been made indifferent by prosperity and good government.

5 Towards the end of 1788, during a serious illness, the king lost his reason. After a time it was doubtful if he would recover, and the question of a Regency, to rule in his place, was talked about. There is no provision in English law for any exercise of royal power during incapacity, or the minority, of a sovereign. The Prince of Wales was of age, and it was proper that he should be Regent, but there were many difficulties in the way. He was not on good terms with the king, and his conduct had made him unpopular in the country, he had so openly taken the side of the chiefs of the Opposition in Parliament, that it was certain he would dismiss the king's ministers as soon as he could. To help him to power seemed to be taking part against the king himself. When Parliament met in December, Fox made matters worse by rashly saying that the Prince of Wales had a right to the Regency, a right as clear as in the case of the death of the sovereign. Pitt answered that he had no right more than another person, unless Parliament gave it to him. Fox tried to explain away his words, and the Prince himself said that he claimed no such right. Still Parliament looked into what had

Reform of
Parliament

The Re-
gency Bill, 1788-9

been done in former times in such cases. At last, after many delays, a Regency Bill setting forth Pitt's view had almost passed the third reading in the House of Lords, when the king's recovery put an end to the whole thing. The Bill had given the care of the king's person and the authority over his household to the queen, the regency to the Prince of Wales, and the royal power, with certain limitations. When, in 1810, the king's health gave way so that he never recovered, the Prince of Wales was made Regent by a Regency Bill founded on that of Pitt, with almost exactly the same limitations. The king recovered his health in the middle of February 1789, to the very great joy of all classes, and the delight of the people at having escaped the rule of the Prince of Wales and his friends made the minister's power greater than ever.

6 For some years the foreign policy of Pitt was peaceful and of small interest. The Peace of Versailles had been favourable enough to England to be welcome, but the two countries had continued to distrust each other.

7 Differences had arisen in Holland between the democratic party, supported by the Court of France, and the Stadholder, as the chief magistrate of Holland was called, upheld by his brother-in-law, the King of Prussia. Pitt would not interfere at this time, but in 1788, England, Prussia, and the Stadholder of Holland made an alliance, by which they agreed to defend each other against any enemy. Thus England and Prussia became responsible for the independence of the United Provinces.

8 Pitt, in the next thing he did, met with his first serious check. Under the Empress Catherine, Russia was growing strong, and pushing southwards. Pitt watched the war between Russia and Turkey (1788-91) with all the anxiety which English-

men have felt in this century The Russians stormed and sacked Ockzakow, at the mouth of the Boug, and established themselves on the Black Sea (1788) Their great general, Suwarrow, drove the Turks across the Danube and occupied Wallachia (1789) When Suwarrow sacked Ismail, a fortress at the mouth of the left arm of the Danube, and slaughtered about 30,000 Turks with horrible barbarity, Pitt wished, even at the risk of war, to prevent Russia from taking any territory from Turkey But the country would not hear of war for such a cause, and Turkey was stripped of the land beyond the Dniester

CHAPTER IX

ENGLAND DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

I A TIME, however, came when foreign affairs held the chief place, and the great peace minister was driven into war The war soon greatly upset his peaceful plans at home, and by and by made him rule less wisely, and with less trust in the people The French Revolution of 1789 was such a great event that men were forced to think of it before everything else It altered men's notions of politics, and it changed for a time the whole face of the map of Europe

Causes of
the French
Revolution

The extravagant and selfish despotism of the French monarchy, and the oppression of the people by the nobles, had brought France to a state of discontent and distress in which peaceful and sufficient reform was almost impossible For years the notion that men ought to rule themselves and not be ruled entirely by a king and his nobles, had been set forth in French writings The idea of a revolution, or change of government, had been in men's minds In 1789 things came to a head The

States-General, a kind of parliament, at last, after an interval of 175 years, had been called together by Lewis XVI, who was desirous of reforms. It declared itself the National Assembly, and took to itself the power of the other Estates. Riots broke out in Paris and elsewhere, the Bastille, which was the great prison in Paris was destroyed, the abolition of all privileges or special rights of nobles, of clergy, and of all classes, was swiftly decreed. The feeble but well-meaning king was helpless in his capital, the nobles were soon in exile.

2 Most Englishmen were glad at the news of the overthrow of despotism. Freedom had been gained, they thought, at some expense, no doubt, but things would soon settle down into order and a better government. But there were some Englishmen who, like Burke, disapproved even from the first, and when, after a time, the revolutionists grew more and more violent, and showed themselves unable to set up a firm and free government, English opinion became less in their favour.

3 The effect of the French Revolution on English politics was most marked. Burke violently attacked those who agreed with it, while Fox constantly praised them in extravagant language. The difference of opinion destroyed the long friendship of these two great statesmen. The same difference gradually broke up the Whig party, for not only Burke, but later the Duke of Portland also, and others, ceased to act with Fox and Sheridan, and began to support the government. Thus the opposition became weaker in Parliament, had less hold on the country, and at the same time grew more violent.

4 Pitt, at first not sorry for the overthrow of the French Court, was most anxious to keep aloof from French politics, but this became impossible. A small portion of

the English people greatly admired the French Revolution, and their unguarded language and conduct drove the majority to extreme opinions of the very opposite kind. Societies and clubs in some English towns connected themselves with the Paris clubs, and their conduct led to disturbances

Republican
societies in
England

5 The opening of the year 1792 was prosperous, and peace seemed so sure that both parties in the House of Commons agreed in reducing the forces. But on the Continent the violence of republicans was terrifying the governments and leading them to be very watchful over their own subjects, and to be willing to make war against France. The English ministry still wished for peace, and determined to put down with a high hand all signs of agreement with French republicanism. With this intention Pitt was gradually led on to interfere with what people did and said in a way that became very oppressive. In France the Assembly was powerless before the mob of Paris, and the king's life was threatened.

Growing
dislike of
the doings
in France

6 At this moment the governments of Austria and Prussia determined to invade France, put down the republicans, and restore King Lewis XVI to power. A large army was to enter France from the north, under the Duke of Brunswick, and a force of French exiles was to join him.

Invasion of
France by
armies of
Austria and
Prussia.

The invasion was wrong, because the French people had a right to change the government of their own land if they pleased. These two States that interfered are to be blamed for bringing on the general European war that followed. France did not at that time threaten Prussia or the Empire, and however much foreigners might dislike the condition of monarchy in France, there was no call for interference. And the Duke of Brunswick made

such demands and put forth such threats as a great nation could not endure

7 This foreign interference at once led to a new revolution in France, the king and queen were imprisoned, the National Assembly was replaced by a Convention in September, which at once voted to do away with the monarchy. All power fell into the hands of the extreme men among the republicans, of whom one small party after another gained the upper hand

8 Meanwhile the allies took the frontier towns of Longwy and Verdun, and might have pushed on to Paris, but their slowness gave the French generals Dumouriez and Kellermann time to unite their forces and stop the way. After a slight defeat at Valmy in September, the allied forces left France. Dumouriez then occupied Brussels and the district to the Meuse (then the Austrian Netherlands), and other French forces gained successes in Germany and Savoy

9 It was natural that the French republicans should be inclined to make war in their turn, when, for the moment, the fear of foreign invasion was past. Proud of their successes, but with entire want of good judgment, the Convention published the 'Decree of November 19,' offering help to all nations that desired to recover freedom, in other words, to cast off their kings, and they annexed Savoy to France. A demand which the French made for the opening of the trade of the river Scheldt was an attack upon the independence of Holland, and upon England, which was bound by treaty to Holland

The Decree of November 19 was received almost as a declaration of war against monarchy, and against all countries ruled by kings. A change was soon to be found in the words of the English ministry. England

was drifting on towards war. At the opening of Parliament in December, the king's speech urged an increase of the army, and, whilst hoping war might be avoided, gave a warning that war was likely. The execution of the King Lewis (January 1793) led to an open breach with France, and in February war was declared by France against England and Holland.

CHAPTER X

PITT AS A WAR MINISTER

1 The English entered on the war rather unwillingly. Pitt felt bound to defend Holland, but did not want to interfere within France, though he thought the war would be short, and would end in the defeat of the republicans. The first division of the war dates from February 1793 till the peace negotiations of Basle and Paris in the spring and autumn of 1796.

Pitt did not
desire war

2 The French, under Dumouriez, at once invaded Holland, but the Austrians, entering Belgium, forced them to retire, and won back all the Netherlands. Nor were the French at first more successful on the Lower Rhine, for the allies took Mentz. Dumouriez, vexed at the constant interference of the Convention in military matters, and desirous of playing a great part in a restoration of the monarchy, entered into a treasonable correspondence with the allies. His schemes failed, but he passed over to the Austrians, and then went to England, where he was little heard of afterwards. An English expedition under the Duke of York landed and joined the Austrians, but the campaign was badly managed by the allies. Instead of pressing forward with energy, they wasted time on the sieges of Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy, in which success was of little use. An allied fleet failed to save the city

Failure of
the allies

and port of Toulon for their French royalist friends And no help was given to the royalists who rose in La Vendée till the struggle was over, and a fearful slaughter of the peasantry made further resistance hopeless

3 Meanwhile all France had been roused to fury The arrogance of the allied invaders, the treason of Dumouriez, the fall of the frontier fortresses, the threat of a march on Paris, made the republicans frantic The Girondists, as the party was called that had gathered round the deputies from Bordeaux and the department of the Gironde, lost all influence They were the more moderate party in the Convention, but now power passed to the Jacobins (June 1793), of whom a small committee became rulers of France Robespierre, St Just, and the Jacobins, forming the Committee of Public Safety, were in power for nearly fourteen months and their tyranny in Paris and other cities well earned its name of 'The Reign of Terror' The 'Revolutionary Tribunal,' as the men who acted as judges were called, put thousands to death, trying, condemning, and executing in a day Cartloads of victims were slaughtered every day, often without even the pretence of a reason the Queen Marie Antoinette among the number It was a horrible time, but any government of Frenchmen seemed to the people better than the rule of foreign conquerors So France submitted easily to the patriotic Jacobins, who quickly taught France her power for war, and successfully defied Europe And in this the people were wise, for when the Reign of Terror passed away, France was still powerful and safe from the foreign foe

4. The campaigns of 1794 and 1795 brought no honour to England The Duke of York failed to take Dunkirk, and the defeat of the Austrians at the battle of Fleurus lost Belgium The French even pressed on into Holland, and were well

The Com
mittee of
Public
Safety

Campaigns
of 1794-5

received by a large republican party, who did not like the English alliance. An expedition to the Bay of Quiberon to assist the Chouans, or royalist insurgents in Brittany, was a disgraceful failure. On the German frontier the successes of France brought out the jealousies of the German States, and in 1795 Prussia made peace, leaving the Austrians and England to carry on the war. The English fleet under Lord Howe gained a great victory over the French in the Channel on June 1, 1794, a victory always named from the date only. English arms prevailed in India and the West Indies, and English forces gained Ceylon, Malacca, and the Cape of Good Hope. Disturbances in Corsica ended in the expulsion of the French and the union of Corsica to the crown of England for a time. But these things did not make up for the ill-success on the Continent.

5 Early in 1796 there seemed an opportunity of making peace, and little reason for longer war. The alliance was broken up, Holland was more friendly to France than to England, the hope of restoring monarchy in France was gone, for a stable republican government was in power there. The war had become unpopular in England. Trade had suffered, banks had failed, taxes were pressing heavily, and the debt had been greatly increased. The war had changed Pitt too, and his home policy. Believing monarchy to be in peril, he and his party had acted as if they saw revolution all round them. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for the time, and so people could be put in prison, and kept in prison without being tried. The freedom of the press was almost put down, freedom of speech almost at an end, spies and informers were everywhere. One bookseller, Ridgway, had been punished for selling Paine's 'Rights of Man,' a book which was a coarse attack upon Monarchy. It had been published in

Ill effect of
the war on
England

England and it had been already condemned in a court of law, while the author was in Paris joining in the French Revolution. Another bookseller, Holt, who was also editor of a newspaper, had died in prison for publishing an address on reform. In Scotland matters were still worse, but everywhere the law was severe, and the judges were ready to press it so as to meet every case. At last, the city of London began to make a stand against the tyranny of the courts, and the juries of citizens refused to find men guilty who were brought to trial for treason. When a jury (December 1793) acquitted Perry, the editor of a newspaper, who was accused of publishing a seditious libel because he asked for parliamentary reform, and when (December 1794) a prosecution for high treason against Horne Tooke and others failed, people again began to feel confidence in the law courts.

6 With the country thus disturbed peace had been needed, and Pitt had become willing for peace. Negotiations were opened, but the French Directory, as the new government was called, was elated with success, had grand plans of conquest, and distrusted the English desire for peace. France refused to give up Belgium or Holland or Milan, which she had annexed. Moreover England was almost without allies, and the Directory, careless of the fact that not England but Prussia and Austria had made the war upon her, turned with a savage hate against England and against Pitt, to humble them before all Europe. The peace negotiations came to nothing.

7 After the negotiations of 1796 the nature of the war was changed, and the feeling of the English people also. They had cared little to support the government in attacking France, or in helping continental despots to overthrow the republic. Many had feared that war and victory endangered their

Changed
nature of
the war

own liberties But now peaceable England was on its defence against a proud enemy, and Pitt, as the champion of his country in a war which could not be helped, was stronger than ever

8 The French Government was no longer merely defending itself, but now threatened to invade Ireland and even England Both Holland and Spain had joined France, and so with the Dutch and Spanish fleets the French hoped to sweep the English navy off the seas, if not to conquer England But the Irish conspirators and the French Government did not work together An expedition to Bantry Bay, in Ireland, failed, and the landing of 1,400 men at Fishguard, in Pembrokeshire, February 1797, was ridiculous Without artillery, deserted by the frigates that brought them, this small body surrendered at discretion to Lord Cawdor, who had gathered a still smaller force of volunteers, yeomanry, and militia

9 In the same month, February 1797, Admiral Sir J Jervis and Commodore Nelson met a very powerful Spanish fleet off Cape St Vincent, and gaining a considerable victory, forced them to retire to Cadiz The Dutch fleet during the summer had been prevented by the weather from trying to join the French at Brest When in October they did put out, an English fleet under Admiral Duncan attacked them off Camperdown, nine miles from land, and after a most obstinate battle, took more than half the ships

Battles of
St. Vincent
and
Camper
down

10 These successes put an end to any serious attempt at invasion But during this year the country was troubled by serious mutinies in the fleets at Spithead and the Nore in April and May Fortunately the dangers passed away The Admiralty yielded in the one case to reasonable and fairly urged claims of sailors badly paid, badly fed, and badly cared

Mutinies in
the fleet,
1797

for In the other case they showed firmness in refusing insolent demands, and punished a few ringleaders who had behaved very ill

II Though the invasion of England was still threatened, the mind of Napoleon Bonaparte, who was now rising to power in France, was bent on a different scheme. From the southern port of Toulon he aimed at the conquest of Egypt, Syria, and possibly of India. In July 1798, after seizing Malta, he landed in Egypt, took Aboukir, Rosetta, and Alexandria, and soon pushed on to Cairo. Though Nelson was sent off early in May to watch the French fleet, it was not till August that he found them. Sixteen sail were drawn up at anchor, in a safe position in the harbour of Aboukir, well supported by guns on the shore. Nelson, who had a plan for everything that might happen, worked his ships in alongside of the Frenchmen, and began a battle which lasted all night from sunset. Two French ships of the line and two frigates escaped, but by morning the victory of the English was complete.

This grand victory of the Nile, or Aboukir Bay, did much to make Napoleon's expedition to Egypt an entire failure. He, however, still aiming at the conquest of Syria, reduced El Arish, Gaza, and Jaffa, but his march was stopped by the fort of Acre. Sir Sidney Smith, whose ships had been blockading the port of Alexandria, set off to the help of the Pacha in command of Acre, and capturing the French ships with a battering train of great guns on his voyage, was in time to aid in the defence. The place was in a condition unfit for resistance, yet those who were inside, by untiring work and undaunted courage, were able to hold out for sixty days, and when in great distress were relieved by fresh troops. The siege was raised in May 1799, Syria saved, and Napoleon very soon returned to Cairo and to France. The French

occupation of Egypt lasted two years longer, but its importance was over. In March 1801 a force of 15,000 men under Sir Ralph Abercromby landed at Aboukir, and defeated the French army which opposed them. On the surrender of Cairo in June and of Alexandria in August, the French army agreed to leave the country, while the fleet fell into the hands of the English. A body of 7,000 sepoy's from India under Sir David Baird arrived too late to share the fighting, but their very presence showed how utterly the eastern schemes of Napoleon had come to nothing.

12 When Napoleon hurried home from Egypt in August 1799, he put an end to the Directory, and soon under the name of First Consul became chief ruler of France. Men were mostly glad of the change. The Directory had been ruling feebly, while Napoleon soon gave Frenchmen plenty of glory. His rule was firm, and fairly just, and while he acted as one who had no mere party ends to gain, he did not seem to undo the good of the Revolution. He gave France order, and good law, and even when he made himself Emperor, his subjects felt that there was social equality for all below him. The year 1800 was a year of French successes under the rule of Napoleon. One French army under Moreau overran Bavaria. Napoleon himself, by a very bold plan, crossed the Alps to the rear of the Austrian army which was besieging Genoa, entered Milan, gained a victory at Marengo, near Alessandria, and forced the Austrians to give up all North Italy, except Genoa, to France. Later in the year Moreau gained the battle of Hohenlinden, which opened the way over the river Inn to Vienna, and placed Austria at his feet. The Austrian Emperor was compelled to agree to the treaty of Luneville (1801) which ceded the land on the left bank of the Rhine, and gave France the Rhine for her border from Basle to its mouth, while the

Napoleon
supreme in
France.

Adige became the border of the Cisalpine Republic, which Napoleon controlled

13 In 1801 England stood alone at war with France. The continental states either had been subdued by Napoleon, or were too weak to resist him, or, like the Northern, or Baltic, powers had their own cause of quarrel against England. Paul, the Emperor of Russia, the head of this Northern League, was hostile to England partly from a half-insane admiration for Napoleon, partly because of the old grievance about the right of search of vessels under a neutral flag. Sweden and Denmark followed his lead, and even Prussia was unfriendly. Things abroad looked dark for England, and they were little brighter at home. The ministry had not cared to listen to Napoleon's proposals for peace made soon after his return from Egypt. They had misjudged the strength of France, and had fancied that the many changes of the government were signs that the Revolution was failing, and the republic would come to an early end. Now Englishmen longed for peace, for the distress in the country had grown great and the price of corn was very high. Moreover, Pitt had resigned office on the Catholic Emancipation question¹. He felt that, after the union of Ireland with England, Roman Catholics ought at once to be freed from those laws which gave them less liberty than other people had. Especially he wished that they should be able to become members of the House of Commons. He would have passed a law giving them such freedom. As the king would not consent, Pitt would no longer be his minister. The king, however, became incapable of attending to business, and so the new ministers were not yet in office.

¹ See page 621

14. The power of the navy and the firmness of Nelson at this moment saved England by breaking up the threatening Northern League. A fleet was sent out in March 1801 under Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson second in command. The object was to separate Denmark from the League, or to take her fleet, that it might not fall into French hands. After many delays the fleet passed up the Sound and anchored off Copenhagen. When the Danes had refused to accept the terms offered, Nelson's squadron of twelve ships opened fire on their fleet and forts, and after some hours made the Danish ships strike their flags. A truce was made which grew into an armistice, or stopping of war, for fourteen weeks.

Bombard-
ment of
Copen-
hagen

15. And fortunately the death of the Emperor Paul caused a change of Russian policy, and peace was made with the Baltic powers, June 1801. The Right of search was to be confined to men-of-war and refused to privateers, and blockades were to be real, with enough ships of war to close the ports and really prevent vessels from getting in or out. The break-up of the Northern League, added to the decisive battle of Alexandria, made the French willing to renew proposals of peace, and these were most acceptable. England was to give up her conquests, except Ceylon and Trinidad, France to withdraw from Naples and Rome, to give up her claims to Malta and Egypt, and to leave Portugal in peace. Such were the terms of the Peace of Amiens, March 1802, 'a peace,' as was truly said, 'which everybody would be glad of, but which nobody would be proud of.' But the peace was little or nothing more than a truce between foes who were to fight again very soon.

The Peace
of Amiens,
1802

CHAPTER XI

THE DEMAND FOR IRISH INDEPENDENCE

1 THE wish of William III to set up a firm and just rule in Ireland had come to nothing. He would have carried out the Treaty of Limerick, 1691, with all fairness in hope that by and by the soreness of defeat would die out. He could not, however, do as he wished, for few people felt with him, and the victory of the Protestants had been too complete, so that opposition was hopeless for the Roman Catholics. They were quite crushed, and could only hate the injustice which kept them down. So matters had gone on even worse than before the Revolution. Men in England and Ireland alike would not be tolerant of one another's differences, the government had had little patience, and had not paid proper attention to the real interest of Ireland.

A close union of the two countries, with no separate Parliament at Dublin, with all rights of liberty, religion, and trade the same in England and Ireland, under a law firm and equal alike for Englishmen and Irishmen, would have been best. A career being thus offered to all alike in the government of the whole kingdom, and in its army and other professions, time would probably have cooled those passions which harsh and unequal laws kept at a fierce heat. For want of such a career at home Irishmen were driven to be adventurers in France and Spain, and to fight against the armies of their country, or to carry off the vigour and the trade of the north to the American colonies.

2 As it was, no Roman Catholic could sit in the Parliament at Dublin, and therefore a large and growing part of the population had no voice in governing itself. Laws were passed against the Roman Catholics so harsh that they could not be

SCOTLAND

IRELAND
1798



carried out, there were laws forbidding Roman Catholics to exercise particular professions and trades, laws to disable them from inheriting land or holding offices, laws to bribe them to become Protestants for the sake of lands or offices or pensions. These evil laws failed of their object, but they made men false and deceitful, and they kept up the old religious feuds in a way scarcely known elsewhere.

The government of England was no wiser or juster in Irish matters than the Parliament at Dublin. The English people looked upon Ireland as an ill-behaved island that must be kept down, and as a dangerous rival that must be kept poor. They forgot that it is the poor, not the rich, who rebel, prosperity would have gone far to soothe the discontent, and with peace most parts of Ireland would have prospered. All chance of prosperity was killed by the keeping down of the trade and growing manufactures of the island. The Navigation Act of 1663 had made a distinction between English ships and Irish, so that Irish ships could not trade direct to the colonies, and all exports and imports must come first to English ports and in English ships. When a thriving trade in cattle and produce with English ports began to grow up, it was stopped in the interest of English farmers. The rich grass land of Ireland fed immense flocks of sheep, and her wool commanded a high price all over Europe, but a regulation forbade the sale of Irish wool and Irish woollens to any country except England. The wool trade was crushed, and the woollen manufactures in like manner, and numbers of the most valuable and industrious inhabitants left the country.

Hence it came about that the Protestants, injured by bad laws and bad government, became more disaffected towards England than the Roman Catholics were. And in the latter part of the eighteenth century a demand

began to be put forward for the entire independence of Ireland

3 As we follow Irish history through the years of the American and European wars down to 1782, we find the demand of independence gradually shaping itself, and, after giving way in one small point after another, England in a moment of desperate difficulty yielded and granted a new constitution

4 Ireland sympathized much with the Americans, for their claims for self-government and for free trade were those which the Irish had so often made. The Opposition in the Parliament at Dublin, like Sympathy with the Colonies the Whigs in England, openly said they agreed with the colonists, the leader of the Opposition, Grattan, pressed the demand for independence just when England was getting more and more into difficulties. Troops had to be withdrawn for America, and, while smuggling grew, lawful trade was almost entirely killed by the swarms of privateers who swept the Channel and even ventured to engage with men-of-war

5 The French war (1778) made the Presbyterians of the north in some measure return to their loyalty, but it made the condition of Ireland worse than Rise of the Volunteers before, for it ruined what remained of Irish trade. Then England began to give way. Some measures to quiet Ireland seemed absolutely needful. Some relief to trade was given, except to the woollen manufacturers, some relief to Roman Catholics, who had been very loyal, was given by making the penal laws less harsh. But even then Burke failed to alter the Navigation laws, and he lost his seat as member for Bristol because of his attempt to get justice for Ireland. The measures which England would grant were too insignificant and too late, the weakness of England, and her powerlessness to defend Ireland from invasion, seemed to call on Irishmen

to protect themselves Suddenly, all through the land bodies of volunteers enrolled themselves, to the number of not less than 40,000, under no control of the government, either Irish or English The command was in the hands of the leading men of each town or district, and so the control of Ireland passed from the hands of the government into the power of a national army Events moved quickly, for the ministry, pressed by the French war, afraid of the volunteers, and urged by the Whigs in the English Parliament, gave way to one Irish demand after another Concessions, some good, some bad, were made, so that the so called patriots put no limits to their demands, and England had no time to consider what would be the effect of all this yielding Acts restricting trade were hurriedly done away, the Test Act was abolished, a Catholic Relief Bill was no longer refused Then came a demand for a repeal of the Act called Poyning's Law, which had given the English Parliament control over legislation in Ireland

6 At last, in April 1782, Grattan brought forward a motion amounting to a Declaration of Rights, and made a demand for the absolute parliamentary independence of Ireland His proposals were carried through both Houses, and sent to England The ministry had little hold upon Ireland, they yielded to avoid an immediate outbreak

CHAPTER XII

IRELAND FROM 1782-1798

1 THE independence of Ireland was now complete England no longer claimed to pass laws binding Ireland

Party The Irish Parliament was to make laws for quarrels. itself But the new constitution did not work well. The Irish parties quarrelled among themselves The

Protestants were by no means willing to give way to the Roman Catholics. The government found the Irish more troublesome than before. Before the end of the year Rodney's great victory and the safety of Gibraltar lowered the tone of France and Spain, and made an honourable peace possible, and England repented of having yielded.

During the next few years Irish politics were steadily making the union of the two countries necessary, as the only possible mode of government. Pitt worked for this, with freedom of trade, reform of parliament, and Catholic emancipation. Union, with or without these reforms, was the best thing for Ireland, for by it alone could fair rights ever be given to the two religious parties, and all outbreaks be calmly kept down.

2 Meanwhile the volunteers melted away, after an unsuccessful attempt to get a Reform Bill without giving votes to Roman Catholics. The unfortunate failure in 1785, of Pitt's Commerce Bill,¹ by which he wished to make trade between England and Ireland free, added to the difficulties. Flood, Grattan, and Curran alike stirred the passions of their countrymen to defeat an excellent measure. The absurdity of the new constitution was shown in 1789 by the behaviour of the Irish leaders about the Regency Bill. Eager to hamper Pitt, and to take any opportunity of disagreeing with England, they led the Irish Parliament to offer the Regency to the Prince of Wales with full kingly power, while the English Parliament was carefully settling limits and conditions. The recovery of the king made their conduct fruitless as well as ridiculous. In 1794-5 it was made plain that any measure of emancipation which should give equal political rights to Irishmen would be hopeless while the Irish House of Commons remained as it was.

Difficulty of
dealing with
the Irish
Parliament

¹ See p. 594

3 The last years of the century were years of great trouble. The wiser counsels of Grattan no longer prevailed, new leaders arose. The new bond of union, the Society of United Irishmen, now became a revolutionary body, and grew more popular and more powerful. Many of the leaders were wild and rash adventurers, such as Hamilton Rowan and Wolfe Tone, full of enthusiasm for French republicanism and of hatred for England. In Dublin, Belfast, and elsewhere a powerful Protestant following formed their strength. The lower classes of Roman Catholics looked to them for the signal to root out for ever the Saxon and the heretic from the land. As has been usual in Irish history, the government had no difficulty in learning the whole plot from informers, of whom numbers offered themselves. Outrages became common, and had to be put down by force, so that a fierce spirit grew on both sides.

4 The first plan was to get the French to invade Ireland and set up an independent republic. Wolfe Tone, with Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, two young men of good family, negotiated with General Hoche, and an expedition was arranged. Everything that the English Government could leave undone was left undone. The blockading squadron which should have been off Brest let the French fleet pass. Lord Bridport's fleet from Portsmouth made no attempt to find them. No force came by sea to stop the enemy, no soldiers were sent from England to meet him if he landed. The ministry disbelieved the whole story, and it seemed that they neither could nor would protect Ireland.

5 Generals Hoche and Grouchy sailed out of Brest on a fine night, December 16, 1796, with a fleet of twenty-eight sail and fifteen transports, and an army of 15,000 men well equipped. They were to meet off Mizen Head, or later at the Shannon mouth.

The way was open, there were no troops worth mentioning in South Ireland, and it was thought that the peasantry would rise everywhere. The fleet separated in the darkness of the first night, and one large ship went down, during several foggy days the fleet gathered again till, on the 21st, off Cape Clear, thirty-five vessels were mustered. But since the first night the *Fraternité*, with General Hoche on board, was nowhere to be seen Grouchy waited for Hoche, who never came. Then a gale drove all to take refuge in Bantry Bay. There fog shut them in for days, and at last a storm swept them out to sea, and back to Brest, where they learnt that General Hoche had put into Rochelle, and had never seen Ireland. The French expedition had come and gone. Scarcely a man had landed, no Englishman had opposed, no Irishman had aided.

6 The Orange Association of Protestants, so called from William of Orange, now began to draw the northern republicans to itself, and became by and by a formidable weapon wherewith to put down the rebels in the south, who were almost all Roman Catholics.

The Orange
men.

CHAPTER XIII

IRISH REBELLION OF 1798

1 THE death of Hoche, the battle of Camperdown, the rise of Napoleon's power, put an end to the hopes of French help.

Thrown back on themselves, the leaders fixed on May 23 for a general rising. The government, who knew their plans, arrested the committee in Dublin. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in a desperate struggle, stabbed two officers, one mortally. He was himself shot, and died in prison of his wounds. A

Lord
Edward
Fitzgerald.

vigorous but vain and wilful young man, he had been led by unprincipled men to use most foolishly the influence which birth and position gave him. He was wholly without statesmanlike qualities to atone for his unhappy attempt at rebellion.

2 The arrest of the committee saved Dublin from a massacre which had been carefully planned, but the surrounding counties, Kildare, Meath, Wicklow, and Wexford were soon full of rebellion and bloodshed. The government was for the moment almost helpless, with few troops and those inexperienced. Fierce attacks were made on several stations in Kildare which were held by small bodies of yeomanry and militia. Farms, country houses, barracks, villages, were attacked, pillaged and burnt, and unoffending people were massacred with revolting cruelty. Carlow was saved with difficulty, and there the troops, after fighting bravely, slaughtered the rebels with a ferocity which at the least equalled their own. In Meath, at Tara Hill, the insurgents were at once thoroughly beaten. For a moment the rebellion hung fire. An offer of submission was made in Kildare, and Dundas, the general, was willing to listen. Unfortunately, another band offering submission was savagely cut down on the Curragh by yeomanry marching from Limerick, and news spread among the rebels that no terms would be granted. Martial law had been instantly proclaimed, and the terror of the ruling class burst forth into mad fury. Before a hurried court-martial any suspicion was evidence enough to declare a Roman Catholic guilty, and to hang him. The government was scarcely strong enough to be cool, no troops arrived from England, the Irish yeomanry and militia were led by officers wild with hate and distrust, and eager for vengeance.

3 Very soon the rebellion in Wexford seemed to excuse both terror and severity. The chief leader was a

parish priest, Father John Murphy, a bigoted, blood-thirsty man, who made the rising into a furious onslaught upon heretics, a wild religious war to restore Ireland to the true church. The Bishop's palace at Ferns Wexford. was wrecked and burned, a small force from Wexford was overpowered by the pikemen who crowded after him in thousands. Enniscorthy, a little town garrisoned by some 300 men, was attacked and taken, and the Protestants were butchered. A great camp was formed on Vinegar Hill, close to the town. Here vile atrocities, almost equal to those of the Reign of Terror in France, were committed in the name of religion, innocent prisoners were daily murdered in batches. Wexford next fell into the hands of the rebels, who then began to plan an attack on Dublin.

For some days such an attempt had chances of success, but time was wasted. One division intending to make its way through Carlow and Kildare was defeated at Newtownbarry. A second division reached New Ross, but was frightfully cut up in the streets of the town. The fighting was desperate, no quarter was given, and the angry soldiers could not be held in. At midday, before the battle was over, a portion of the rebels murdered about 300 wretched persons whom they had made prisoners on their march. A third division, under Murphy, was stopped after a fierce battle at the bridge of Arklow.

4 By the middle of June the cause of the rebels was hopeless. A force of 13,000 men was marching in several divisions to attack the camp of Vinegar Hill. The rebels fought well, but anything like war was now over. Those who were in The rebellion crushed Wexford had time for one more vile massacre. Nearly a hundred prisoners were piked to death in cold blood before rescue came. Then Wexford submitted, the leaders, including the fanatic Murphy, were hanged.

Small bands passed over into the Wicklow mountains or into Kilkenny, and still committed outrages. A strong government might have quieted the country at once, but instead ferocious scenes of retaliation were common, and large portions of the country were harried by the soldiers, who were as cruel to the rebels, as the licentious border

5 Lord Cornwallis was sent over, in order that the Lord Lieutenant might hold supreme military as well as civil authority. He withdrew the extraordinary powers from the courts martial, which were notorious for violence, and soon proclaimed an amnesty. But party feeling and the vindictive conduct of the Parliament in Dublin interfered with his attempt to quiet the country.

6 Soon after his departure, General Humbert landed a small body of French troops at Killybegs in Mayo in August, and marched inland. Joined by a few hundred, of Irish, he reached Castlebar, where General Lake's force of 3000 militia and yeomanry melted away before him. But when Lord Cornwallis placed himself in the way on the road to Sligo, nothing remained for General Humbert but to surrender, with no terms for his rebel followers. A French squadron which was coming to his aid was defeated and most of the vessels taken, including the *Hecla*, which had Wolfe Tone on board. He was tried and condemned, but committed suicide in prison. It is a curious illustration of the reckless mode of putting down the rebellion, that though Wolfe Tone was certainly guilty of treason, his conviction by a court martial was illegal, and though his judges had chosen to try him as a soldier, they refused him a soldier's death and sentenced him to be hanged.

7 It was clear that Ireland could not govern itself in connection with England. It is no less clear to anyone

who reads Pitt's great speech on the subject, that a close union between the two countries was good for both and needful Pitt made up his mind to carry an Act of Union, by which the Irish Parliament should cease, and Ireland should be represented in the British Parliament The Union was carried by Pitt's influence, in spite of slight interest shown in England and much hostility in Ireland Wholesale bribery cleared a passage for it through the Irish legislature The Act of Union provided for a United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with one Parliament at Westminster It gave to Ireland representation in the Parliament by four spiritual peers sitting by rotation, and by twenty-eight temporal peers elected for life by their own body, and by one hundred members of the House of Commons It provided for almost entire freedom of trade between the two countries And it provided that the laws of Ireland should remain as then in force, with power in the Imperial Parliament to alter or repeal them, or to enact new laws for Ireland, separately or in common with the rest of the realm The Act took effect on January 1, 1801 It was one of Pitt's greatest measures, and the fault did not lie in him that it was not made still more perfect by the addition of a provision for the relief of Roman Catholics from all disabilities But this was at the moment impossible

The Union
of Great
Britain and
Ireland.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EUROPEAN WAR, 1803-1807

1 THE ministry of Addington, who succeeded Pitt in 1801, was one of the weakest which have ruled England

Addington. Addington was an honourable gentleman, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons for eleven years with some success. He had never been thought a man of great ability, and as First Minister in difficult times none had entire confidence in him. During the months that ended the war, and during the peace negotiations, the new ministry carried out Pitt's plans, and were safe with his support.

2 It was clear, even before the end of 1802, that the peace would not last. The result of the fighting had not been decisive enough to settle the new position of France in Europe. The old causes of dispute remained. England and other powers felt that France was a neighbour more dangerous than ever, France, eager to revenge attacks upon her, had grown fond of war and conquest which brought glory and increase of territory. The warlike spirit was kept up by Napoleon Buonaparte that France might need him as her ruler and submit to loss of liberty under his rule. His aggressive conduct was alarming Europe. He annexed to France the Island of Elba in August, and Piedmont in September, he occupied Parma and Piacentia in October, and Switzerland about the same time. He had some cause of complaint that England had not left Malta according to agreement. He was also angry because England received French exiles, and did not prevent them from writing against him. Both nations prepared against war, and so provided that there should be war. The government, supported by Pitt, declared war against

France in May 1803, and soon after against the Batavian Republic, as Holland was now called

3 On the part of the French vigorous measures were at once taken, and Hanover was occupied Before the other powers were roused, immense preparations for the invasion of England were made, as though the war were solely for the conquest of England All the coast from Brest to Antwerp was busy with arrangements for an invasion, of which the headquarters were at Boulogne England met the threatened attack with much spirit, volunteers enrolled themselves in all places, to the number of 300,000 This all gave an aim and a popularity to the war which had been wanting before 1802 The eagerness of the public spirit seemed to outrun the energy of the government, and Addington resigned in April 1804, unable to withstand the attacks of the Opposition The ministry fell because the country believed that Pitt alone was able to govern in such perilous times

4 Pitt's Second Ministry lasted from May 1804 to January 1806, when he died The great points of his policy were to strengthen the navy to the utmost, and to make a great European Coalition against Napoleon

During 1805 Napoleon, now become Emperor of the French, had himself crowned King of Italy at Milan, and annexed the republic of Genoa Meanwhile, Pitt arranged terms of alliance with Russia, and the allies were joined by Austria, and by Sweden a little later The objects were to stop the encroachments of France, and to withdraw Hanover, Holland, Switzerland, Piedmont, and Italy from the control of Napoleon

5 The Coalition, Pitt's grand scheme, failed, as we shall see, and the grand scheme of Napoleon for the invasion of England failed entirely His plan was that Admiral Villeneuve, with the

powerful Toulon fleet, should draw away Nelson's squadron to the West Indies, then, returning, should join the Rochfort squadron and the Spanish fleet, and, suddenly sweeping the Channel, should help the invading flotilla. The plan was good and had fair chance of success. Villeneuve sailed, drew Nelson off to the West Indies, and got back to Europe several days before him. On his return he put in at Ferrol. Napoleon's orders, which he found there, were precise. Villeneuve was to go to Brest, fight the English blockading squadron, and with the Brest fleet go up the Channel to Boulogne. He sailed instead to Cadiz for more ships, believing that his twenty-nine ships of the line were not strong enough to meet the English combined fleets. Napoleon in August waited for his fleet at Boulogne, but the fleet was at Cadiz, and so, through the admiral's grievous fault, all possibility of the invasion was at an end. Nelson had come to England, but by the end of September he was off Cadiz, and on October 21 the French and Spanish fleets met him near Cape Trafalgar. Nelson and Collingwood had twenty-seven liners to meet thirty-three, and they were ready. Their plan was to sail in two lines and break through the enemy's line. Each admiral led his division, and each was successful. The result was a wonderful victory: twenty of the enemy's ships were taken, the French admiral was a prisoner, the Spanish admiral was killed. Nelson himself, shot by a musket-ball from the tops of a French ship, lived just long enough to know that his work was done. This, the sixth great naval victory of the European war, destroyed for the French all hopes of beating England at sea.

6 The news of Trafalgar reached England early in November, but four or five days earlier very bad news from Ulm had arrived. Napoleon, disappointed by Villeneuve's sailing to Cadiz, had *Austerlitz.* instantly changed his plans. Swiftly moving his troops

to the Rhine, before September was over he attacked the Austrians in Bavaria, and in October had surrounded General Mack at Ulm, on the Danube, and forced him to capitulate with a splendid army of 30,000 men. He entered Vienna in November, and following up the Austrian army, which had joined the Russians, overthrew their combined forces at Austerlitz, in Moravia, with enormous loss. The Emperor Francis yielded to all Napoleon's demands, and the Coalition was no more.

7 Pitt, who died in January 1806, at the age of forty-six, lived to hear of the failure of his plans, and it was said that Austerlitz had killed him. So to the sorrow of England, passed away the great minister of this reign, who, able, untiring, upright, liberal, had wielded power in the country for nineteen years. He had been a wise and open-minded administrator in peace, less fortunate, and, indeed, less able in war, though friends and foes alike had felt, so late as 1803, that unless Pitt were at the head of affairs, England's course indeed was run.

8 Lord Grenville now formed, with Fox (who, however, died in September) and Addington (now Lord Sidmouth) a ministry which was called of 'all the Talents' but the foreign policy was unchanged. The ministers declared all the French coasts under blockade, a blockade which was meant to include the Baltic and Italy. It was a foolish thing, for such a blockade could not be kept up, and was irritating to neutrals. Napoleon, with most of the Continent at his feet, having overthrown Prussia at Jena and occupied the capital, put forth the 'Berlin decree' (November 1806), forbidding all intercourse with Great Britain. He hoped to crush the trade of this country by cutting her off from continental markets, but his plan failed. In turn, the English Government (January 1807),

Death of
Pitt, Jan
uary 1806

The Gren
ville
ministry

by Orders in Council, reasserted the right of blockade and of search of neutrals, an unwise claim which led at last in 1812 to war with America

9 The Grenville ministry was dismissed by the king in March 1807, because they would not promise to let the Catholic Emancipation question rest. Their home policy had been good, but they were unwise to raise again a question which had overthrown Pitt once, and which both Pitt and Fox had meant to leave till there was a new king. The Duke of Portland succeeded, with Spencer Perceval, Canning, and Lord Castlereagh, these Pittites having joined the followers of Wilberforce in a 'no-Popery' cry unworthy of those who had been friends of Pitt in 1801, and with him had been in favour of emancipation.

10 In the summer of 1807 a pressing danger called for the utmost vigour. Russia, worn out with war, made the Peace of Tilsit and passed under the influence of France. With her ports closed against England, those of Prussia in French hands, and Russian influence brought to bear upon Sweden and Denmark, there was a repetition of the Baltic League of 1801. A very large fleet and army was at once sent to Copenhagen under Admiral Gambier, Lord Cathcart, and Sir Arthur Wellesley. A demand for the possession of the Danish fleet being refused, a regular bombardment by land and sea led to a surrender (September). The fleet, with stores and guns, was carried off to England just as a French army entered Danish territory. This strong measure was thought needful, since Denmark commanded the Baltic, and England could not quietly allow all northern Europe to be arrayed by France against her.

CHAPTER XV

THE PENINSULAR WAR.

1 THE Treaty of Tilsit placed almost all western continental Europe under the mastery of Napoleon, and the 'Berlin decree' was an offensive avowal of the mastery. It led to the Peninsular war, in which the English gradually drove the French armies from Portugal, through Spain, over the Pyrenees into France. Portugal refused to submit to the Berlin decree. She was an old ally of England, and owed much to her. The English influence was great, and her trade most valuable. Just at the right moment disputes in the royal family of Spain gave Napoleon an opportunity of interfering in that country. An appeal to Napoleon ended in a treaty (October 1807) for the partition of Portugal. French troops were sent into Spain, and an army under Junot, a young and able general, marched from Bayonne, through Salamanca and Alcantara, and occupied Lisbon. Other forces cut off the northern provinces from Madrid, or turned towards Barcelona.

2 Early in 1808, both King Charles IV and his son Ferdinand placed themselves in Napoleon's hands at Bayonne, and the kingdom of Spain was resigned to him. His brother, Joseph Bonaparte, who had been King of Naples, now became King of Spain, and entered Madrid in July.

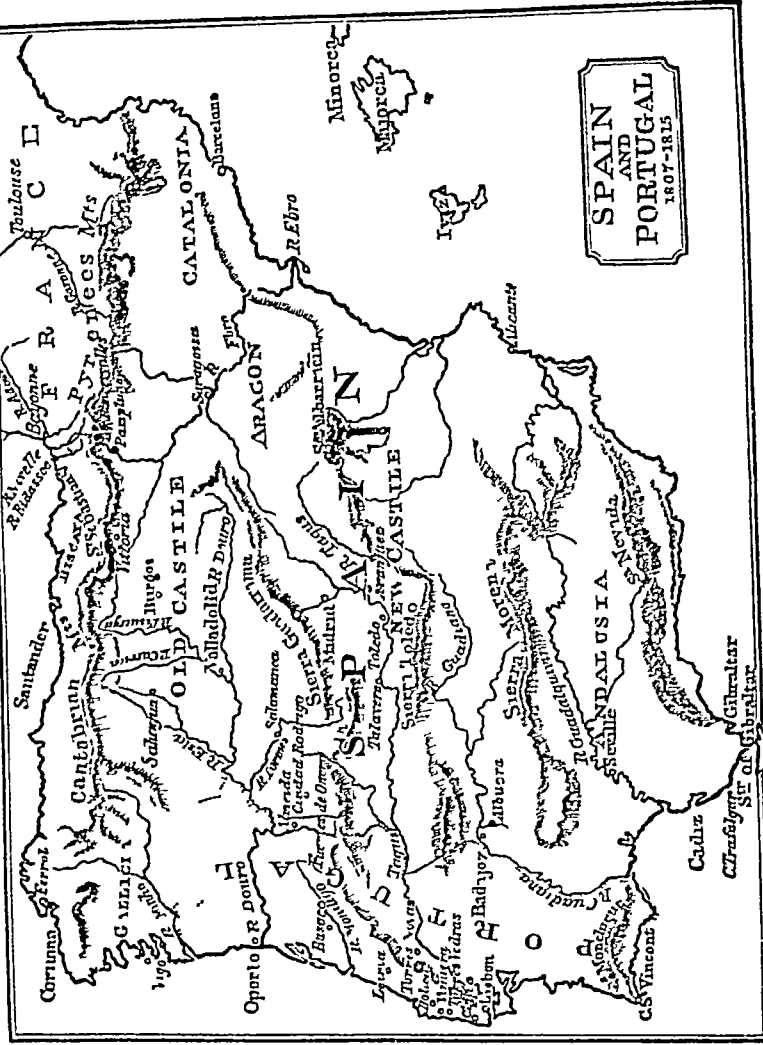
3 Meanwhile, among the Spanish people there was a fierce outburst of determination to resist the French. There were riots in all parts, with outbreaks of savage barbarity against the upper classes in Madrid, Seville, Toledo, and almost every town. It was a wild effort of a confused patriotism, with-

Junot's
occupation
of Portugal

Joseph
Bonaparte
King of
Spain,
1808

Resistance
of the Span-
iards.

SPAIN
AND
PORTUGAL
1807-1815



out any great men to lead. The French were staggered for the moment, and the new king left Madrid and retired to the Ebro, August 1808.

4 For a time Lisbon was quiet under the military rule of Junot. But though his rule was in some ways

Expulsion of the French from Portugal better than the miserable government of the Regent, who had fled to Brazil, still the country was not willing to be thus annexed to France.

The arrogance of Junot and his demands for money roused a spirit of resistance, and the influence of Spain and England made the people ripe for insurrection.

The first signs of a rising were at Oporto, and before long the whole country round the French posts was in arms, while an English squadron was blockading Lisbon. An attempt was then made by the English government to drive the French from Portugal, with a hope, very ill founded as it proved, that the rising of the Spaniards would free their country. Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in August at the mouth of the Mondego, and prepared to strike a blow near Lisbon with a small force of about 12,000 men. Marching southwards near the coast by Leiria and Torres Novas, a successful fight at Roliça opened the road towards Torres Vedras. At Vimiero he attacked Junot's army, and, after a hard fight, forced it back. Wellesley was unable to reap the fruits of his victory, as he was superseded by Sir Henry Burrard, and he by Sir Hew Dalrymple, who took command on the next day. The intended advance was stopped, but Junot, afraid of a rising in Lisbon, offered to leave Portugal under a convention. This was agreed to, and, according to the 'Convention of Cintra,' by the end of September Portugal was clear of French armies.

5 Another expedition was not so fortunate. Sir John Moore, a brave and honourable man, and one of England's best generals, was sent into Spain to assist the Spanish

armies When his force arrived at Salamanca, it was clear that he was too late to be of any great service in Spain The Spanish forces had been routed, the French were in far too great strength everywhere He made up his mind to retire to Portugal, but over-persuaded by false information, he advanced to Sahagun, and there found that Napoleon would be upon him with an enormous force He at once retreated over the river Escla, and past Lugo towards Ferrol and Corunna, with the French army, now under Soult, close upon him The fleet which was to take him off was a day too late at Corunna, and a battle had to be fought Soon after mid-day the French from the outer circle of hills attacked the English position, but by nightfall the advantage lay with the English During the night the army was embarked without confusion or difficulty Sir John Moore, struck by a cannon ball during the battle, died, and was buried in the citadel of Corunna This small expedition had disarranged Napoleon's plans, and drawn the French troops to the north, saving the south and Portugal The retreat before so powerful an enemy was an honourable achievement, deserving far more praise than it received

6 Meanwhile Napoleon had filled Spain with troops to the number of 300,000 men, reoccupied Madrid, and recovered the country

7 After Portugal had been cleared of French troops according to the Convention of Cintra, it was neglected for some time by the English Government At Lisbon the Regency was weak, elsewhere there was scarcely even the form of a government Sir John Cradock with the English force held Lisbon, but he could do no more In the south Marshal Beresford, an English officer, was making a Portuguese army In the north Soult, leaving Corunna, was threatening Portugal Towards the end of

March 1809 he took Oporto, and set up French influence firmly in the district round

8 At this time Sir Arthur Wellesley was sent to succeed Cradock in command of the English troops in Portugal Taking up the plan of holding Lisbon at all hazards, he made ready to fall upon Soult's army Passing Coimbra, he surprised the French by suddenly crossing the Douro in May, and so forced them to leave Oporto Soult, though surprised, made a masterly retreat into Galicia Thus in 28 days Wellesley restored confidence, cleared Portugal of enemies, and forced a victorious army to retreat with the loss of all its guns

9 Wellesley marched on into Spain, but the small number of troops which he brought into the field prevented his doing much He aimed at threatening Madrid by the line of the Tagus The various French armies began to gather upon him, and he placed his forces on the heights of Talavera After some days' skirmishing a general attack was made by the French under Victor and Jourdan and King Joseph himself, who was too eager to wait for the operations of Soult in the rear of the English All through the intense heat of the afternoon of July 28 there was desperate fighting, but the French attack failed, and a grand charge of the English cavalry and the irresistible advance of the 48th infantry gained the victory The French retired, and next day their army retreated Wellesley presently moved off into Portugal, and held the line of the Guadiana during the winter The campaign had relieved Galicia, but otherwise it was a failure Wellesley indeed had been successful, but the Spaniards had proved useless allies

10 The English people were weary of the war, and

the news of Wellesley's retreat, and the failure of an expedition to Walcheren, led to a quarrel in the ministry, and its resignation, September 1809 Mr Perceval's ministry
 A more thoroughly Tory government succeeded, under Mr Perceval, with the Marquess Wellesley as Foreign Secretary. The new ministry was unpopular at home, and not vigorous enough abroad.

11 The next year (1810) was marked by a great display of French power. Napoleon, victorious in Germany, was able to attend to Spain. Victor invaded Andalusia and blockaded Cadiz. Massena, arriving in May, took Ciudad Rodrigo, and pressed on towards Portugal. Wellesley, now Lord Wellington, had sagacious plans ready. Lisbon was to be defended by the English and Portuguese armies inside three strong lines of fortified works drawn from the Tagus to the sea, while an English fleet was in the harbour. In September Massena with 65,000 troops was at Viseu, north of the Mondego. Wellington retreated before him, after making a successful stand on a high range of hills, the Sierra Busaco, and then crossing the Mondego, and passing Leiria, drew his army within the lines of Torres Vedras. The lines included 50 miles of fortification, 150 forts, and 600 guns. Besides the regular army, sailors from the fleet, English marines, Portuguese artillery and militia, and a Spanish division were engaged in the defence, while the army and fleet off Cadiz kept French troops in Andalusia from reinforcing Massena.

12 The blockade lasted throughout the winter, but as Wellington expected, his position was as strong as ever in the spring, and by March 1811 Massena was obliged to withdraw. He retreated across the Mondego, and out of Portugal as far as Salamanca, Wellington following to attack the French garrison at Almeida. Then Massena turned to meet him, Massena leaves Portugal

and a fierce battle was fought at Fuentes d'Onoro (May) in which both sides claimed the victory. The advantage lay with the English: they were forced to give some ground, but defended the village and still kept up their blockade of Almeida. The French shortly left the place, and Marmont, who succeeded to the command of the army, fixed his headquarters at Salamanca.

13 Further south Beresford's army was eager to take the powerful fortress of Badajoz. Soult, who had a large army in Andalusia, left Seville in May, and *Albuera.* forced Beresford and his Spanish allies to break up their investment of Badajoz and take position for battle on the heights of the stream called the Albuera. Here was fought a long and confused battle, which was going against the English and Spaniards, till at last the tremendous pressure of the steady march of 6,000 fusiliers of the English infantry up the crest of the hill, in the face of masses of the enemy, and under a terrible fire, decided the day. Of the 6,000 Englishmen only 1,800 arrived at the top, but when they arrived the battle was over. The loss on both sides was enormous, the advantage to the victors was not great. The glory belonged not so much to the general, for his dispositions had been bad, as to the soldiers, for it was a soldiers' victory.

14 The winter saw the blockade of the great border fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo. For Wellington's plans of invading Spain, the capture of this place and of Badajoz was absolutely needful. The siege was hurried in every possible manner, that no French force might come to the rescue in time, and thorough preparations had been made beforehand in Almeida and places near. In twelve days the breaches were practicable, a fourfold attack was made, and the place was stormed. A frightful scene followed, all discipline was cast off by the soldiers, who even set fire to the town in their drunken madness.

Storming of
Ciudad
Rodrigo

15 Wellington then turned to Badajoz. This famous fortress had been twice invested during 1811, and twice left untaken. In March it was again invested, ^{Storming of Badajoz} this time to be taken. The French governor, Phillipon, was an engineer second to none, and he did all that could be done. But in April the place was stormed and taken after siege operations which cost 1,500 men, and an assault costing 3,500 more. These successes, with the capture of Almaraz on the Tagus, gave Wellington new and strong bases of action beyond the frontier.

16 In June, no longer fearing for Portugal, he advanced to the river Tormes, attacked Salamanca, and passed across the river. A month later he was ^{Wellington's} in the same position again, with Marmont's ^{advance to Madrid} army close by, threatening his communications. From this he intended to retreat, when suddenly he found an opportunity of falling on Marmont's army, broken into three divisions. With great skill the left of the French was instantly attacked and thrown into confusion, and Marmont himself badly wounded. General Clausel saved the centre, but the whole army was defeated, and next day was in full retreat. In a few days Wellington was at Valladolid, and Clausel had been driven towards Burgos, while King Joseph, who had been unable to join him, left Madrid. The battle of Salamanca was the first decisive victory in the war. The French armies were driven headlong, and all the centre of Spain was cleared of the enemy. While King Joseph crossed the Tagus to Aranjuez, Wellington entered Madrid.

The power to hold central Spain depended on the movements of Soult with the army of Andalusia. When he left Seville to join the armies of the centre and north, Wellington decided to leave Madrid and the siege of Burgos, and retire to his base, Ciudad Rodrigo. There

in the surrounding district he made ready for winter, after the greatest campaign which he had yet fought

17 This year, 1812, had seen a change of ministry in England, for Mr Perceval had been shot by a man called

Lord Bellingham, a merchant who fancied that the
 Liverpool s government had treated him badly Lord
 ministry

Liverpool re-made the ministry, with but little change of policy Abroad they were not much more vigorous or successful, at home there was some small inclination to grant slight reforms, though little was done.

18 During the winter Wellington prepared for the work of the next year He made his own army ready,

Plans for and visited the Spanish Cortes at Cadiz, and
 the cam the Portuguese Junta at Lisbon, to urge them
 paign of
 1813

to support his plans vigorously The campaign of 1813 was to be decisive Many things favoured the allies The desperate need of keeping France and Germany quiet since the failure of the Russian expedition made the war in Spain now a small matter in Napoleon's eyes, so long as Wellington could be kept out of France Stronger bands of guerrillas, who were irregular troops, half soldiers half robbers, were springing up all over the north of Spain, shutting the roads, and threatening the French posts along the coast of Biscay Differences of opinion between King Joseph, Soult, and Suchet also damaged the French cause

19 With headquarters at Valladolid, the French armies stretched from Alicante to Toledo and on to

Salamanca The English forces had grown
 Advance to
 Vittoria

in numbers, and their allies had improved in quality After waiting till May for the green forage, the allies, with wide front, advanced in three armies across the Esja, the Douro, and the Tormes, in such force that the French retreated before them Passing Salamanca, they were at Valladolid in the beginning of June Crossing

the Carrion and the Pisuerga, they turned the sources of the Ebro. Thus the French had to leave the coast and concentrate themselves on Vittoria, while Santander became a new and convenient depôt and base for the allies, now cut free from Portugal. At Vittoria a decisive battle was fought. The town stood at the end of a wide basin about eight miles by ten, circled by rocky hills. Into this basin was gathered all the material of the French army, with not far short of 80,000 men posted to defend the heights. On June 21 the allies closed round the basin, and then forced their way through the hills, driving the enemy six miles to the last height before the town. From this point, with further fighting, they advanced, taking gun after gun, while the enemy hurriedly retreated. The loss of men was not enormous, but all the baggage, all the treasure, all the papers, and all, save two, of the guns of the army were left to the allies in the basin of Vittoria. It was the end of the French occupation of Spain, and in a few days all the frontier line from the valley of Roncesvalles to the Bidassoa was held by the allies, and Pampeluna and San Sebastian were invested. In six weeks Wellington had marched almost 600 miles, and driven 120,000 troops, under excellent generals, out of Spain.

20 For a moment, Soult, who was now at Bayonne, again in command, hoped to unite his armies, and relieve the fortresses of Pampeluna, San Sebastian, Santona, and occupy Aragon. But he made no way in nine days of hill fighting, in which ten actions were fought. San Sebastian surrendered after a brave defence of sixty-three days, and Pampeluna soon after. In October Wellington was in France, at Vera, and in November the passage of the Nivelle was forced. Soult was driven back on Bayonne, and still the English army pressed him. However much he was de-

The pas-
sage into
France

lryed by want of stores, money, or ammunition, or distracted by the contrary views of the ministry in England, or disturbed by Bourbon plots or Spanish quarrels, still Wellington steadily and cautiously closed his grasp upon Soult, who fought with untiring spirit and yet no hope of success. In February, 1814, General Hill crossed the Adour, a battle followed at Orthes in which the French were again beaten. Next Soult was obliged to leave Bayonne, which was at once invested. Fighting all the way, he retreated on Toulouse, the great arsenal which commanded the southern roads and the passage of the Garonne. There the war ended. One desperate battle was fought outside Toulouse in April, before the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon was known. It was scarcely a victory for the English, scarcely a defeat for Soult, but he had to retreat two days later, and Wellington entered Toulouse. He had done his work so as to earn glory for the English armies seldom if ever equalled.

The glory was due to general and army rather than to the government. In no other part of Europe had the English schemes succeeded. The home government had shown little energy or good sense. An expedition sent to the island of Walcheren and to Antwerp at the mouth of the Scheldt to aid in driving out the French had been a wretched failure. It took Walcheren and its town of Middelburg. But so much time was spent in taking Flushing that all chance of getting Antwerp was lost, and no more was done. The Dutch did not want such help, and the French could not be driven out. The services of 40,000 men were wasted, and very many lives lost.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FALL OF NAPOLEON

1 WHILE Wellington had been making his way into France, the end of Napoleon's power had come. In 1811 he had annexed Holland and the neighbouring coast as far as Lubeck, Westphalia and all the minor States of Germany were in his power. Invasion of
France
1813-14

But in 1812 Russia and Sweden were no longer willing to be shut out from trade with Britain. Napoleon at once attacked Russia, crossing the Niemen in June, and passing through Lithuania to Smolensk and Moscow. He was victorious, but his army perished of cold in its retreat, and very little of it repassed the Niemen in December. His power was broken, and the people of Prussia and of other parts of Germany were eager to rise and join Russia in overthrowing him. Though he had successes in the spring and summer of 1813, his enemies closed upon him, and the decisive battle of Leipzig, fought through great part of three days in October, allowed the allies to follow him into France. Amidst frequent battles and much negotiation Paris yielded, March 31, and then Napoleon abdicated in April, while Wellington and Soult were fighting near Toulouse.

2 The allies had been fighting not alone for independence, but also for the old monarchy which the French Revolution had overthrown, they therefore The Resto-
ration, 1814 again set up the old line of French kings, and Lewis XVIII was placed on the throne. The task of restoring the old limits of kingdoms, and the old state of things, wherever possible, was given to a Congress of diplomatists who met at Vienna.

3 The war, however, was not yet all over, one great campaign more had to be fought. For eleven months a feverish peace lasted, and then news suddenly came that the Emperor Napoleon was again in France. He had been placed in the little island of Elba, and from thence, in March 1815, he crossed, and landed near Cannes. He was everywhere welcomed, the army and his old generals gathered round him. He was in Paris in three weeks, and the restored king had gone again. There is no wonder that men who had fought and suffered as Frenchmen had for equal rights and for glory should eagerly welcome the great general and Emperor who was to free them from the feeble king who reminded them of the old days of despotism and of the conquest of Paris by the foreigner. But the allies would have no terms with the Emperor, no terms with France save as a beaten country. Wellington was at Brussels early in April, and armies of English, Prussians, and other allies began to gather. Napoleon crossed the frontier near Charleroi on June 15, and he was at once within reach of the Prussian forces at Charleroi, Namur, Liège, while the English were moving close to Quatre Bras.

4. The Prussians, attacked at Charleroi and again at Ligny, retreated after suffering some loss. The English, who fought at Quatre Bras with success, were moved back a distance of seven miles. There, on June 18 was fought the decisive battle of Waterloo. About eleven o'clock the attack was begun by the French, and the fighting lasted till evening. The whole brunt of the battle fell upon the English army, and they bravely kept their ground. About seven o'clock the last French charge was made upon the left centre, and it failed. By that time the Prussians, under Blücher and Bülow, had come up, and to their timely assistance it was due in

great measure that a great victory was won The war was now over and the French empire at an end

5 Napoleon reached Paris on the 21st, and abdicated At Rochfort he placed himself in the hands of the captain of an English man-of-war The ^{Abdication} allies decided that he should be exiled to the ^{of Napoleon} island of St Helena, an English possession in the Atlantic, where he stayed till his death

6 There was nothing now to hinder the march of the victorious armies The allies entered Paris on July 7, and Lewis XVIII was restored on the next day France was held by foreign troops till ^{Restoration} the work of restoring the old map of Europe was done England had nothing to gain by any settlement, but she took her part in setting up the old despotisms with little care for the people of the different states

CHAPTER XVI

THE YEARS OF PEACE

1 FROM the outbreak of the French Revolution, England had been more than usually affected by foreign politics And from the year 1793 she had been obliged to attend almost wholly to war During the ^{Want of reforms at home} whole time social improvement had been checked, and of constitutional progress there had been scarcely any The government feared all discussion, and tried to prevent all change or reform. Any desire for change was called unpatriotic and un-English, all

reforms were looked on as revolutionary and French. The country generally shrank from disturbance in home politics, thinking the time not suitable. The dread of making great changes during war, combined with a fear of the danger of any approach to French republican views, had prevented all reform of Parliament, the same fate had befallen the other great question, Catholic emancipation. Although in each case valuable time was lost, perhaps it was well that England did not pretend to reform herself at a time when she was helping the powers on the Continent to stamp out demands of reform in other countries.

2 The many years of war had done much to destroy the wealth and prosperity which had grown so fast in the early years of Pitt's ministry. For all manufactures and every kind of trade had been injured except so far as war had in some few cases made an extraordinary demand, and so brought wealth to some classes, as to the farmers, who got very high prices for corn and other produce. For most persons the means of living had been so exhausted by the loss of trade, the waste of life and money, and the enormous amount of the taxes, that distress had become widespread.

3 After the peace of 1815 was made, the effects of the war made themselves most thoroughly felt for the next few years. Foreign politics gave way to difficulties at home, war was succeeded by profound peace, save in one spot and for a moment, but for years the peace was full of troubles.

4 The one exception to the general peace was an interference of civilised Europe against barbarian practices. Putting down Christian slavery. The small Mohammedan States of northern Africa, Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, had for centuries been wont to sweep the seas as pirates, to take the vessels of all nations, and to carry off

Christians into slavery In the seventeenth century we hear of Turks and Barbary corsairs even in the English Channel To leave money for the ransom of Christian slaves from the Moors was a common form of charity in England The power of these States was less now than formerly, while other nations had stronger fleets, and the Mediterranean was public water The Christian States would allow this habit of piracy no longer Public opinion as to slavery had changed, England had put down her own slave trade in 1807, and Napoleon had found time to do the same in the hurried days of 1815, and other nations followed The worthiest memorial of the Congress of Vienna is its agreement to put an end to the deeds of the corsairs of the Mediterranean

5 An English fleet under Lord Exmouth forced the rulers of Tunis and Tripoli to give up their Christian slaves, to the number of 1,800, and to bind themselves by treaty to take no more The fleet, with a small squadron of Dutch ships, was off Algiers in August Lord Exmouth's demands were made at once, including freedom of all Christian slaves and the end of Christian slavery When no answer was given, the fleet worked in close to the immense batteries and facing the Algerine fleet and the higher forts The first shot was fired by the Algerines, it is said, and then all the afternoon and the evening there was deadly fighting, till almost all the enemy's guns were silenced The fleet worked out in the night with a loss of about 900 men, better spent in this than most causes Next morning the Dey of Algiers yielded to all demands, and gave up 1,083 Christian slaves

Bombardment of Algiers, 1816

6 The exhaustion of the country was great, and the recovery at first was slow The enormous debt pressed hard, and distress created bitter discontent before society had fitted itself to the new conditions The heavy

travels seemed more unbearable in peace than they had been in war. All those branches of industry which had flourished because of war prices now suffered. Many workmen were thrown out of employment. Much suffering was felt before advantage could be taken of those new openings for trade which peace would gradually offer. Large numbers of soldiers and sailors were no longer needed, and yet it was not easy to take them into the professions and trades without injury to others. Parliament listened to the complaints of landowners and farmers, and to prevent them from being injured by a fall in the price of corn, forbade all imports unless the price reached 80s., that is till there was famine in the land. This unfair and foolish law hurt all other classes, and almost starved the poor. Bad seasons and wretched harvests followed. Distress led to riot among the agricultural labourers in the eastern counties, and among the colliers and miners of the midland districts and of South Wales. There were also riots of distressed mechanics who knew no better than to try to put down the machinery which was now being largely brought into use. In thickly peopled places, such as Manchester and Glasgow, demands for reforms led to great disturbances. The country was fast becoming difficult to manage. The government, unwilling to admit the need of any changes, or unable to find remedies, looked only for means to force the people to be quiet. They suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and got Parliament to pass the severe laws of repression known as the Six Acts, which took away the usual liberty of holding public meetings, increased the harshness of the law of libel, and gave to the authorities powers to search private houses for arms. It must also be remembered that the king through illness had taken no part in business for years,

and that the Regent was neither respected nor liked Crown and Parliament were alike held in suspicion

7 The reign of George III therefore ended in a time of sullen agitation, the result in part of the usual distress caused by a long war, in part of the putting off of needful measures of reform These were now urgently called for, to make our laws reasonable and fair, to allow for the natural growth of the community, and to give the great majority of the people their fair share in governing themselves

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DEMAND FOR REFORMS

1 TWO great movements deserve mention as worthily marking this period of discontent, during which men were slowly preparing for the great struggle which ended in the passing of the Reform Bill The one was the improvement of English criminal law, the other was a crusade against the slave-trade, ending in the abolition of slavery

2 English law had long needed reform It was of unwieldy bulk, badly arranged, and slow of application The criminal law was also frightfully severe, and, in consequence, very ill executed For juries Reform of the criminal law could not be found to subject men and women to its harsh punishments A small knot of energetic men set to work to reform the criminal law They were mostly, as was natural, men of advanced liberal views Their master, Jeremy Bentham, was a learned and wise lawyer Unfortunately the government was afraid of all reformers, and was also specially afraid of the effect of mildness in what they thought most dangerous times To

make the laws milder when men were lawless, seemed to them a move in exactly the wrong direction. It is astounding now to think that in this century men were liable to death for forging receipts, or for sheep-stealing, or for picking pockets, or for shop-lifting. In the reign of George III the punishment of death was due by law for about 160 different crimes, 'actions which men are duly liable to commit'. Sir Samuel Romilly, in 1808, was able to do away with the punishment of death for picking pockets. And at last, after many years, in 1818, Sir James Mackintosh, aided by Canning and Wilberforce, against the whole force of the government, carried in the House of Commons a motion for a Select Committee on capital punishment, which led in the end to a rearrangement of penalties, and made English criminal law fit for a civilised and law-abiding people.

3 The abolition of the slave-trade was due to that religious party which has borne the name of Evangelicals.

^{The} They were representatives of the spirit which ^{Wesleys.} arose from the teaching and the religious fervour of the Wesleys and Whitfield and their admirers. These men were leaders of an earnest revival of religion in the eighteenth century. They were pious Oxford students who gave themselves up to do good. They went everywhere preaching, to awaken people to a sense of their sinfulness, and to lead them to live better and more religious lives. The Church at first did not like them, and they met with many difficulties, for their doings were often odd. But though many laughed at them, their success was very great. Thousands were converted by their preaching. The whole tone of English feeling was changed by the renewed religious life which grew out of it. Very many, who did not become followers of them in name, yet learnt much from their piety and unselfishness and joined them in good works.

4 From the foundation of American and West Indian colonies negro slaves had been brought from Africa, and the trade had greatly fallen into the hands of Englishmen. The horrors of the traffic and the sufferings of the slaves on the passage roused attention in England. A determined attempt was made to regulate or even to put down the traffic. The leaders of this attempt were Wilberforce and Thornton in Parliament, and Granville Sharp, Clarkson, and Zachary Macaulay outside. The last had been manager of a slave plantation in Jamaica, and knew well the evils against which he fought so hard. In 1788 Pitt moved for an inquiry with a view to regulate the trade, and awful disclosures were made of cruelties, scarcely credible in these days. But when next year Wilberforce proposed to put down the slave-trade and make it illegal, the merchants of Liverpool and other ports were too strong for him, and they defeated him for many years. No effort was spared, a Society was formed, the matter was urged in season and out of season. They rescued slaves where they could, and formed a colony for freed slaves at Sierra Leone under a charter, of which Macaulay was governor from 1793-1799. The two great statesmen, Pitt and Fox, opposed on most questions, were united on this, and supported the change on the ground that traffic in human beings was wrong. The length of the battle had its value, for the long discussion showed that more was involved than a mere question of cruelty on board ship, more was needed than the end of the slave-trade. When at length success crowned the efforts of the Society, in 1807, and the slave-trade was abolished by the Grenville government, the philanthropists had not finished their work. They began again, and fought for many years, till 1833, a harder and a longer battle, and they won a still more honourable victory in the abolition

The abolition of the slave trade

of slavery in all the dominions and colonies of the British empire

1 Looking back over the reign of King George III, we find that it was a time of great events. England lost most of her great colonies in America, and gained a great and growing empire in the East. She fought a long and exhausting war in Europe with great bravery and perseverance, and came out of it with a high reputation.

The seeds of many changes also were sown, to grow vigorously before many years passed, indeed of nearly all the great reforms by which England has become so great, so well governed, so prosperous, and so contented.

2 It is especially to be noted that during this reign, power had been gradually passing into the hands of the middle classes, and, more particularly, the population of the great cities. The power of the great Whig noble families of the Revolution had been broken by the king. Again, the power of the crown had grown less. King George III, who was thoroughly English, and most attentive to business, tried hard to have his own way, he succeeded to a great extent, in some measure because of his industry and his desire to do what he thought was good for his subjects. But his policy was not wise, and the results of his exercise of power were disastrous, and after a time he grew feeble and then for a long time he was mad.

3 While the crown thus lost power, the middle classes, to whom it was passing, were becoming more ready to claim it and more competent to use it. The example of the American colonies was before their eyes. The influence of the

French Revolution was greatly shown in the new spirit of inquiry, which spread widely. A demand for information created a quickly growing supply of books, periodicals, and newspapers, both in England and Scotland, and these in their turn tended to increase the demand for education. The desire for news from the war helped the sale of newspapers to a degree not before known. While the House of Commons grew less and less representative of the people, the newspapers were becoming the best means of appealing to public opinion.

4 The wealth, also, of England had grown greatly by reason of an enlargement of trade. This, though checked by the war, was constantly tending to throw a larger proportion of wealth into the hands of the middle classes, in whose hands manufactures and commerce chiefly lay. Much fell also to the largely growing class of artisans. The influence of scientific invention was the same, it too greatly benefited the trading classes. Engineering made great strides, especially through the adaptation of steam to machinery, to engines of locomotion on land, and to ships, though the great effects of the invention were not seen till later. All these things threw wealth into the hands of the middle classes, and increased wealth meant increased influence and power in the country. In every way the middle classes were becoming the great power in England.

LIST OF PRIME MINISTERS

FROM 1820 TO 1885

Lord Liverpool	May 1812 to April 1827
Mr George Canning	April 1827 Aug 1827
Lord Goderich	Aug 1827 , Jan 1828
Duke of Wellington	Jan 1828 , Nov 1830
Lord Grey	Nov 1830 July 1834
Lord Melbourne	July 1834 , Nov 1834
Sir Robert Peel	Dec 1834 April 1835
Lord Melbourne	April 1835 , Aug 1841
Sir Robert Peel	Aug 1841 .. July 1846
Lord John Russell	July 1846 .. Feb 1852
Lord Derby	Feb 1852 , Dec 1852
Lord Aberdeen	Dec 1852 Feb 1855
Lord Palmerston	Feb 1855 , Feb 1858
Lord Derby	Feb 1858 , June 1859
Lord Palmerston	June 1859 .. Nov 1865
Earl Russell	Nov 1865 .. June 1866
Lord Derby . .	June 1866 Feb 1868
Mr Disraeli . .	Feb 1868 , Dec 1868
Mr Gladstone	Dec 1868 .. Feb 1874
Mr Disraeli	Feb 1874 .. April 1880
Mr Gladstone . . .	April 1880 .. June 1885

BOOK VIII.

MODERN ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION

THE last period of our history is as important as any part of the annals of England. It is with few exceptions a time of peace, of quiet, steady internal progress. It represents a nation resting from the exertions of a mighty past to grow strong for the trials of a momentous future.

It is the genius of England to gain by reform what other nations attempt by revolution.

It was one of the effects of the French Revolution to destroy what remained of the feudal system in France, to strengthen the national life by summoning the whole nation to council, to establish liberty and equality. What France imperfectly attained by one fierce struggle England successfully acquired by the patient efforts of fifty years.

The chief events which mark the advance of this progress were these

1 In 1829 the emancipation of the Catholics reconciled an ancient feud, and led the way to a wider toleration of religion

✓ 2 In 1832 the great reform bill shook the monopoly of aristocratic government, abolished distinctions of class, and prepared the nation for a just and tempered democracy

✓ 3 In 1846 the repeal of the Corn Laws secured cheap food for the working classes, and asserted the principle of free trade

4 In 1851 and 1862 the nations of the world met in peaceful rivalry as the guests of England. The Crimean war between 1854 and 1856 did not seriously affect the regular march of progress

✓ 5 In 1866 a new reform bill, in many respects the continuation of the old one, gave a new opportunity for internal improvement. Two large measures were passed with a view to give peace to Ireland, and a step was taken towards providing a national education

6 In 1884 the agricultural labourers were admitted to the Parliamentary franchise

These changes have all followed quietly and naturally one upon another, so that they look like growth rather than change

At the end of this period England is ready with renewed strength to run a fresh career of prosperity and honour

CHAPTER I

THE QUEEN'S TRIAL

1 THE reign of George III closed in a time of sullen agitation, the result partly of the usual distress caused by a long war, partly of the delay in passing needful measures of reform. The reign of George IV, therefore, opens dark and gloomily. We find the ministers so unpopular that a conspiracy is formed to murder them. We find the crown discredited by the bad character of the King, and the people ready to take part against him. The horror of the Cato Street conspiracy is explained by the scandal of the Queen's trial.

2 Let us hear what this conspiracy was. One day, towards the end of February 1820, the Cabinet ministers were to dine together at Lord Harrowby's. But they had been told that a plot had been formed by some desperate men to murder them as they sat at table. They therefore dined separately at home, while the police were sent to capture the conspirators. They found them, twenty-five in number, in a loft above a stable in Cato Street, Edgware Road, armed, and ready for the enterprise. The first of the police who entered was stabbed to the heart, and the greater number of culprits escaped, including Thistlewood, the captain of the gang, who, however, was taken next day. On May 1 he was executed with four others, while five more were transported for life. Terror spread throughout the kingdom. Nothing, it was said, could be compared with this atrocity except the Gunpowder Plot in

the reign of James I. It was attributed to the Radical Reformers, and the name of Radical became a byword. It was only the work of a few, yet misery and discontent must have risen to a high pitch before such remedies could have been thought of.

3 George III^d had become unfit through illness to perform his duties as king at the end of the year 1810. His son George, Prince of Wales, was made Regent, and held the office till his father's death in the

beginning of 1820, after which he succeeded to the throne. The trial of Queen Caroline, wife of the new king, tended still more to widen the breach between the people on one side, and the king and ministers on the other. She was a Princess of Brunswick, and had married the Prince of Wales in 1795. From the first he treated her with dislike, and she withdrew from England in 1814, as soon as peace made it possible for her to travel on the Continent. On the accession of her husband to the throne she was refused the title and honours of a queen, her name was omitted from its place in the prayer-book, and she was not received at foreign courts. Grieved by these insults she came to England to claim her rights. She was received with enthusiasm by the people. Crowds of supporters thronged her house and attended her carriage. The ministers, at the bidding of the king, introduced a bill to deprive her of her rank and to dissolve her marriage. The bill failed, and was withdrawn, and London was illuminated for three nights. Parliament granted her an annuity of £50,000, but no place was provided for her at the coronation of the king. On the morning of that day she attempted to force her way into Westminster Abbey, but was repulsed, and died a few days afterwards.

3. 4. 5. The Queen's trial

CHAPTER II

FOREIGN POLICY, 1815-1822

1 WE must now consider the position of England in connection with the other nations of Europe. After the defeat of Napoleon the allied sovereigns who met at the Congress of Vienna, attempted to do away with all traces of his work. The Emperors of Russia and Austria, the Kings of Prussia, France, and Spain, indeed, nearly all the European powers, except England, formed what was called the Holy Alliance. The object which it put forward was that of promoting peace and good-will among nations upon the basis of Christianity, but its real effect was to crush attempts to establish self-government throughout Europe. Napoleon had driven out the Bourbon kings from Spain and Naples, he had destroyed the Holy Roman Empire, and weakened the Papacy, he had been the enemy of all the old governments which were hostile to progress. The efforts of European statesmen were devoted to undoing all that he had done. During the six years which succeeded his fall Europe was disturbed by conspiracies and plots. These were mainly caused by the measures taken by governments to repress their subjects in their aspirations for freedom. Lord Londonderry, better known as Lord Castlereagh, who managed foreign affairs in England, had shown himself too favourable to the policy which Prince Metternich, the prime minister of Austria, had done most to form. In August 1822, however, Castlereagh died by his own hand, and Canning, who was just preparing to sail as governor-general to India, became foreign secretary in his place.

2 Insurrection had broken out in Spain. The Liberals set up a new constitution, and secured the person of the king. The partisans of absolute government and of the Catholic religion

The Holy Alliance

The Liberals
Insurrections in Spain and Naples

selves The price of freight was thus doubled on both sides To remedy this evil Huskisson proposed and carried, in 1823, a Reciprocity of Duties Bill, by which duties were made equal on all goods, whether brought in English or foreign vessels Our shipping trade, which had been much depressed, was thus very largely increased

3 There were also large duties levied on the importation of foreign silk This did great injury to our silk weavers, partly by depriving them of the materials of their labour, partly by removing the stimulus of healthy competition French silks were everywhere preferred to English, and so great was the rage for smuggled goods that it even paid an English manufacturer to have his own goods smuggled into England under the name of French The prohibition of foreign wool was equally injurious Much English wool could only be used when mixed with foreign All change was resisted both by manufacturers and operatives But Huskisson was assured of the truth of his principles, and carried measures which reduced the duties on both these articles

4 The question of the abolition of slavery was still unsettled Like many other reforms it had been brought forward, and encouraged by Wilberforce and Pitt, but had been laid aside in the throes of the European struggle Our West Indian colonies were full of slaves, and scenes were enacted in them as terrible as any we have since heard of in America Yet slavery could not be abolished without heavy loss of money Indeed it was feared that the blacks might rise and bring about a general massacre A bill was passed to mitigate the sufferings of the slaves, and all slaveholders knew that by this small measure the death-blow of slavery had been struck

5 Under the influence of these measures the prosperity of the country largely increased Wealth began to flow

into new channels, and all classes of the people felt in their daily lives how far preferable peace was to war. Only the change was too sudden. Commercial distress
 The country ran into wild speculation. Companies were formed for objects impossible to obtain. Banks were opened by men who had no capital to support them. A crash came in 1825. Riots broke out in the Midland Counties, machines were broken as the supposed cause of the people's misery. The Government came to the rescue, money was lent to merchants to retrieve their fortunes, foreign corn was let out of the docks, and the panic passed away.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEATH OF CANNING

I Two great questions remained for settlement, the Corn laws, and the Catholic disabilities. The Catholic population of Ireland was four times as great as the Protestant. The Catholics had for more than Catholic Question
 a century and a half been treated as a conquered and down trodden race. In many respects their position had been improved, yet even in 1828, no Catholic could sit in either house of Parliament, no Catholic could be guardian to a Protestant, or keep any arms or warlike stores. The Catholics were excluded from almost every office of trust or distinction, and were made in many ways to feel that they stood on a different social footing to the Protestants. In 1800, when Ireland was united with England, Pitt had promised to remedy their grievances. But the King pleaded his coronation oath, and his mind gave way when the question was pressed upon him. It

was felt that nothing could be done as long as George III lived. Canning had devoted himself to this cause from his earliest years. But the matter remained an open question with the ministry, and it would probably have remained so much longer had it not been for the efforts of the Catholic Association under Daniel O'Connell. A Relief Bill passed the House of Commons in 1825, but was defeated in the House of Lords, by the efforts of the Duke of York, the next heir to the throne, who declared his unflinching hostility to any measure of this kind so long as he lived.

2 He did not live long, but died in January 1827. Lord Liverpool was soon afterwards struck down by paralysis, and Canning was reluctantly summoned by the sovereign to form a ministry. He had already received his death blow in attending the Duke of York's funeral on a cold winter's night in St. George's Chapel. The Duke of Wellington, Peel, and Lord Eldon, declined to serve under him. His principal colleague was Huskisson. His ministry was pledged to remove the two crying evils of the time. A Corn Bill intended to redeem part of this pledge was rejected in the House of Lords. Canning had no time to put into execution the cherished purpose of his life.

3 Worn out by the exertions of his office, disheartened by the desertion of his friends, harassed by the constant persecution of an unscrupulous opposition like that which had embittered the last days of Pitt, he sank under his accumulated burdens, and died in August 1827, at the age of 57. He has left a name second to none on the roll of English statesmen. His policy was not bounded by the limits of his country. His heart was ever moved with indignation against oppression. He vindicated the position of England as the asserter of liberty and freedom throughout the world. The death of Canning was an event of greater political importance

than it was generally conceived to be at the time. As a disciple of William Pitt, he is properly reckoned among the Tories, but in foreign politics and in some home questions he may rather be regarded as the forerunner of modern Liberals.

CHAPTER V

WELLINGTON PRIME MINISTER

1 THE King had hoped to keep the same ministry in office and to carry on public business with as little change as possible. Lord Goderich, who was considered a moderate man, was therefore made prime minister, but Mr Herries and the Duke of Wellington, who were both Tories, were received into the Cabinet. This was enough to bring about its destruction. A quarrel broke out between Herries and Huskisson, and Lord Goderich not wishing to get rid of either of them preferred to resign himself. The administration had scarcely lasted six months.

2 His place was taken by the Duke of Wellington (January 1828), now in his sixtieth year, the first subject of the Crown, accepted in all parts of Europe as the representative of English power and English spirit, but destined to impair in office the reputation he had gained in war. His industry, courage, and integrity were beyond question, but he had little sympathy with the people, and was apt to base his conduct too exclusively on obedience to the authority of the Crown. Huskisson tried to convince himself that the spirit of Canning would yet continue to guide the conduct of the ministry, and therefore remained in office. But an opportunity soon occurred for removing him, and the remnant of Canning's party, Lord Dudley, Lord Palmerston, and Mr Giant, joined him in his retirement.

CHAPTER VI

BATTLE OF NAVARINO

1 THE attention of Europe had now for six years been directed towards the East. The Greeks had continued their struggle for liberty with various fortunes. ^{Turkish} ^{Qu} ^{stion} Russia took this opportunity to attack her hereditary foe, and was moving forward in her double mission of releasing her brother Christians from the Moslem yoke, and of establishing her power upon the Dardanelles. England and France were afraid that Russia, if left to herself, might forget her worthier objects in the satisfaction of her ambition, and they saw that the best hope of controlling her policy lay in sharing her designs.

2 To effect these objects Canning had, in July 1827, procured the signature of the Treaty of London between ^{Treaty of} ^{London} England, France, and Russia. The powers offered their mediation to establish peace between the two countries which had been so long at war. An armistice was to be concluded without delay. The Sultan was to retain the title of *Suzerain* or superior lord of Greece, and the Greeks were to pay a yearly tribute or *relief*, also a separation of the two nations, which were then intimately mixed, was to be effected, and the Turks were to be compensated for the territory which they surrendered. A secret article attached to the treaty provided that if the Porte or the Greeks did not accept the armistice within one month, the Powers should do their best to force it upon them without however taking an active part in the war.

3 The Turks refused to grant an armistice. Ibrahim Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, sailed with a large fleet to ^{Battle of} ^{Navarino} assist the Sultan. The combined English, French, and Russian fleets allowed him to enter the Harbour of Navarino, on the west coast of the

Morea, on condition that he did not come out again. He broke his promise and was driven back, but took his revenge by harassing the country and burning villages. The allies saw the smoke from burning villages rising among the hills. They realised the misery of his victims, and their patience could hold out no longer. They sailed into the narrow strait at the entrance of the harbour with a view of forcing Ibrahim to discontinue these atrocities under penalty of the entire destruction of his fleet. A battle was not in their intention, but a random shot fired the train of angry feeling, the battle became general, and in four hours the Turkish fleet was entirely destroyed (October, 1827).

4. When the news of this victory arrived in England Canning was dead. Wellington was not so favourable to the independence of the Greeks. The ^{Kingdom of} king, at the opening of Parliament, spoke of Greece Navarino as an 'untoward event,' and no effort was made to follow up the advantage gained over the Turks. The Russians took up with greater vigour the cause which they had more nearly at heart. One army crossed the Danube and the Balkans, another marched into Armenia and occupied Kars and Erzeroum. The treaty of Adrianople (August, 1828) secured the existence of Greece as an independent kingdom.

CHAPTER VII

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

1. THE Corporation and Test Acts, passed in the reign of Charles II, provided that no one should hold any important civil or military office without giving evidence that he was a member of the Church of England, by receiving the Holy Sacrament

Corporation
and Test
Acts.

These Acts had been especially directed, the first against the Independents, the second against James II and the Roman Catholics. The burden of them now fell on the Dissenters who were, however, able to evade the prohibition enforced by them by an Act of Indemnity first passed in the reign of George II, and annually renewed. Lord John Russell proposed and carried, in 1828, a motion that a Committee should be appointed to consider the abolition of these galling and useless restrictions. Peel and Huskisson opposed the measure, as Canning had always done before, on the ground not of principle but of expediency. But they gave way to the feeling of the House, and a declaration of friendliness to the Church of England was substituted for the test.

2 This was followed by a new agitation in Ireland for the emancipation of Catholics. By the efforts of the Catholic Association O'Connell was elected
 I lecture of O'Connell member for Clontarf. His return was declared valid, although he could not sit and vote in the House until he had taken the prescribed oaths. The Catholic Association became more and more powerful. Supported by the priests and well furnished with money, it spread itself over the whole of Ireland. It professed to secure that no member should be elected for any Irish constituency who did not pledge himself to obtain emancipation for the Catholics and Parliamentary Reform. It became evident to the ministers that no course was left to them but to conciliate a power which they could not quell.

3 The king's speech on opening the session of 1829 contained the surprising announcement that the Catholic Association would be suppressed, and that a
 Bill passed measure for the relief of the Catholics would be presented for the consideration of Parliament. Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington had courage-

ously sacrificed political consistency to the good of their country. A Bill which abolished all political distinctions between Catholics and Protestants in the fullest and most generous manner passed the Commons and Lords, and after a little hesitation received the assent of the king. The association which had obtained this victory in the name of a nation disappeared quietly out of existence. A great step had been made towards redressing the wrongs of Ireland.

4. O'Connell, who had deserved the gratitude of his country, was reluctant to give up the position of agitator. He declared that he would never rest until he had secured the repeal of the union Agitation for repeal of Union between England and Ireland. In this vain and hopeless struggle he squandered the reputation which he had fairly earned, and came eventually to be regarded rather as a demagogue than as a patriot.

CHAPTER VIII

EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

1. THE discontent which existed in England was only part of a general feeling of uneasiness which overspread the Continent and took the form of a reaction Portugal against the arrangements of the Treaty of Vienna, and the repressive measures which succeeded it. In these disputes the sympathies of the English people were on one side, the sympathies of the Duke of Wellington were thought, with only too good reason, to be on the other. In Portugal, Don Miguel, brother of Don Pedro, the new Emperor of Brazil, had usurped the

throne which belonged to his niece Donna Maria, the daughter of Don Pedro. He overthrew the constitution which had been defended by Canning, and established a government supported by the priests and the nobility, and recognised by no powers but Rome and Spain. Donna Maria was received with honour in England, and ministers declared that they would observe the strictest neutrality, but it was evident that the feelings of the government were really with the party of absolute government, and our neutrality was so strictly interpreted that we attacked an expedition sent out to garrison an island which had remained faithful to the Queen Maria.

2 France was the scene of far more serious disturbances. Louis XVIII, who had been restored to the throne after the fall of Napoleon, died in 1823, and France was succeeded by his brother. This was the Count of Artois, whose frivolous youth had been spent among the dissipations of Versailles, in the years which preceded the French Revolution, he now, as Charles X, governed reluctantly as a constitutional king. In 1829 Prince Polignac, a strong royalist, and a friend of Wellington, joined the ministry. It was in a hopeless minority in the Chamber of Deputies, as the French House of Commons was called. After attempting in vain to pass some important measures, the Chamber was dissolved. The elections throughout the country were against the ministry, and placed it in a worse position than before. It determined to adopt a high handed course, and issued in the king's name three ordinances, first to suspend the liberty of the press, secondly to dissolve the newly-elected chambers, and thirdly to alter their constitution. A revolution broke out, the fury of which made three days memorable in French History—the 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, 1830. The king, who was at St Cloud, abdicated, and retired to England. Louis Philippe, son of Philippe

Duke of Orleans, who, in the first French Revolution, after voting for the King's death had himself perished by the guillotine, was first made Captain General and then King of the French. An impulse towards independence spread throughout Europe. Belgium separated itself from Holland, a country different in language, religion, and race. Poland attempted to recover its independence. It was seen how vain had been the efforts of the Treaty of Vienna to arrange the map of Europe without consulting the wishes of the people who were chiefly concerned.

3 Just before the outbreak of the Revolution in France, George IV died (June, 1830). He was succeeded by the Duke of Clarence under the name of William ^{Wellington} IV, a popular sailor, deficient in regal qualities, ^{resigns.} but who was understood to sympathise with the people. Parliament was dissolved, as is usual, after the death of a sovereign. The new elections were most unfavourable to ministers. Brougham, a strong advocate for reform and education, the favourite of the populace, was returned for Yorkshire without expense. The king's speech announced a defiant attitude. It regarded with coldness the struggles on the Continent which roused so much sympathy in England, it breathed a determination to repress and crush all agitation throughout the country. This was followed shortly afterwards by a statement of the Duke of Wellington that he considered the reform of the representation entirely unnecessary, and that he should always resist it. His unpopularity became so great that the king's visit to the City was postponed lest public violence should be offered to the minister. At last the government were defeated, and resigned in November, 1830.

CHAPTER IX

FIRST REFORM BILL

1 THE time had now come when the accommodation of the Constitution to new social conditions could no longer be delayed. The importance of the crisis was fully understood by both parties in the country, and the hopes and fears of either have not been falsified by the result. Lord Grey was pointed out as the natural head of a ministry whose chief duty was to introduce a scheme of Parliamentary reform. He was now sixty-six years of age, and had made the same good use his own thirty years before. The Cabinet of fourteen was composed of nine Whigs, whose long exclusion from office had made them less fit for the work of administration, and four remnants of the party of Canning. Lord Althorp was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Brougham, to the surprise of all men, became Lord Chancellor, and deserted the scene of his triumphs in the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, held different opinions to his colleagues. Lord Grey declared to the House which was then sitting that the principles of his government were reform, economy, order, and peace. Agitation still continued in England, but Ministers hoped to be able to allay it by the measure which four of their number were preparing in secrecy and silence.

2 In March 1831, Lord John Russell asked leave to introduce the first Reform Bill. The greatest excitement prevailed, heaps of petitions were piled upon the table, the House was crowded, dense masses of the people stood outside waiting for the news, and beyond them were horsemen ready to carry the first

Lord Grey
Prime
Minister

Reform Bill
introduced.

information of the details of the Bill to every part of England. The chief evils which demanded a remedy were 1 The existence of *rotten boroughs*, places with few electors, and sometimes no inhabitants, which returned two members to Parliament. 2 The fact that large towns which had grown into importance through commerce were left without representation. 3 The unequal distribution of the franchise itself, so that only a small part of the population had the right of voting in elections. The Bill proposed that sixty of the smaller boroughs should be disfranchised altogether, that forty-seven should return only one member instead of two, on the other hand, London received eight additional representatives, and thirty-four seats were distributed among a number of towns hitherto unrepresented. The English counties had allotted to them fifty-five new members, the Scotch five, the Irish three, the Welsh one. In consequence of these changes the numbers of the House of Commons would be reduced from 658 to 596. Corporations in towns lost their exclusive right of election, and it was uniformly extended to all householders who paid £10 a year rent. This gave votes to half a million citizens who were before without them.

3 Lord John Russell's speech was received with decisive cheers and laughter, but Sir Robert Peel sat fixed and immovable in his place, and the Duke of Wel-
Second Reading
 lington told his friends in society 'that it was no joke, and there was nothing to laugh at.' The debate lasted seven nights, and brought out the conflicting objections of the Tories and the Radicals. The one thought such a reform, coupled with a free press, incompatible with the power of the crown and the independence of the Lords. 'It is a revolution,' said a Tory member. The Radicals recognised the boldness of the measure, but regretted that no mention was made of ballots, of shortened

Parliaments, or of universal suffrage At last, after a short reply from the opener of the debate, leave was given to bring in a Reform Bill, and it was read for the first time The country was strangely divided The Court, the House of Lords, the clergy, the army and navy, the universities, and the Inns of Court were mainly against the Bill, it was supported by the manufacturers and the body of the people The press was generally in its favour Excitement was at its highest when Lord John Russell proposed the second reading After a debate of two nights the motion was carried by a majority of one, the numbers being 302 and 301 The success of the Bill seemed to be very doubtful

4 After the Easter recess ministers announced some changes in the details of the Bill General Gascoigne, in Committee, proposed that the number of Parliament Dissolved the English and Welsh members should not be diminished Lord Althorp declared that this motion would be fatal to the Bill At four in the morning it was carried by a majority of eight A dissolution was immediately resolved on, but kept secret for the present On April 21, Ministers were again defeated by a majority of twenty two A Cabinet Council was held, orders were given for the attendance of the Officers of State and the royal guards, the King's consent was reluctantly obtained by Lord Grey and Lord Brougham The King surprised both Houses in the midst of a debate, protesting against dissolution Parliament was prorogued as a prelude to its dissolution, and the question of reform was left to the judgment of the country (April 1831)

CHAPTER X

SECOND REFORM BILL.

1 THE dissolution of Parliament was followed by general rejoicing and illuminations, those who refused to illuminate had their windows broken. In the New Parlia-
ment. elections reformers were chosen throughout the country, of the county members nearly all were pledged to support the Bill. The Second Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell in July. It was the same as the first, with very few Bill passes
the Com-
mons modifications. Leave to introduce it was granted with only one dissentient voice. The debate on the second reading lasted three nights. The motion was carried by a majority of 136, the numbers being 367 and 231. The Ministers had gained 135 votes by the dissolution. But the minority was united and determined. The motion to go into committee was met by repeated amendments. The House rose at half-past seven to sit again at three. In committee the case of each borough was separately discussed. It was urged that the Bill disfranchised the South of England for the benefit of the North, but it was in the North that the chief increase of wealth and population had taken place. Every art of obstruction was put in force. The House continued to sit through the tropical heat of July and past the 12th of August, and the work of the Committee was only just concluded before the coronation of the king in September. The Bill finally passed the House of Commons by a majority of 106.

2 In October the second reading of the Bill was proposed in the House of Lords by Lord Grey. He defended

the consistency of his career, and showed that he had supported Pitt's proposals for Reform in 1786. The debate continued for five nights. The Duke of Wellington opposed the Bill, Lord Lyndhurst, who had been a Tory Lord Chancellor, complained that it opened the flood gates of democracy. The Chief Justice and the Archbishop of Canterbury spoke the sentiments of their professions in demanding its rejection. Earl Grey replied on the morning of the 8th, but the Bill was rejected by a majority of 41.

3 The indignation of the country was extreme. A spark might have produced a revolution. A cry was raised for the abolition of the House of Lords. Un-
 Riots. popular peers were attacked in the streets. A procession of 60,000 persons presented a petition to the King. Windows were broken in London, riots were common throughout the country. The public mind was calmed by Brougham and Russell. The people were assured that there was no intention to desert their cause, or to shelve the question of Reform, but that repose was absolutely needed. Parliament was prorogued for a month. Even after this it was found necessary to prohibit political associations by proclamation. A terrible riot took place in Bristol, directed against the recorder, Sir C. Wetherall, one of the fiercest opponents of the Bill. The constables were routed and soldiers were called in to quell the tumult. The prisons were broken open and the prisoners liberated, the mansion-house and the bishop's palace were burned to the ground. The riots were at last suppressed with great bloodshed and loss of life. Bishops were burned in effigy throughout England, and the Church was involved in the hatred inspired by its chiefs.

CHAPTER XI

THIRD REFORM BILL

1 PARLIAMENT met again in December, and the third Reform Bill was introduced. The chief alterations made in it were in adopting the census of 1831, as a basis of calculation for the population instead of that of 1821, and in maintaining the members of the House of Commons at the original number. The second reading was carried by a majority of 162, and in spite of attempts at delay, the Bill finally passed the Commons in March.

Bill passes
the Com
mons

2 In the Upper House it was still violently opposed by the Duke of Wellington, whereas a party called the 'Waverers' or the 'Timmers' represented by Lord Wharncliffe and Lord Harrowby were disposed to accede to the second reading in order to amend it in Committee. The Bill therefore passed through this stage by a majority of nine. In Committee an amendment of Lord Lyndhurst was adopted by a majority of thirty-five. The debate was immediately adjourned.

The Lords

3 Ministers had before them the choice between advising the King to create sufficient peers to ensure the passing of the Bill, or of resigning their offices. The King, whose early enthusiasm for the measure had gradually cooled, was reluctant to swamp the Upper House with new creations. So the ministry chose to resign. The Lords determined to proceed with the discussion of the Bill, the Commons prayed in an address to the throne that the measure passed by them might not be surrendered. The excitement throughout the country was more violent than ever. A union

Ministry
resigns.

was formed at Birmingham with the object of refusing to pay taxes. Arms were prepared, and there was even danger of a civil war. An attempt to form a ministry among the enemies of Reform failed. Lord Lyndhurst and Sir Robert Peel declined the post, the Duke of Wellington undertook it, only to find it impossible.

4. Lord Grey was recalled in May 1832, the king reluctantly gave permission to him and to Lord Brougham to create such a number of peers as would be necessary to pass the Bill, first calling up peers' eldest sons. In consequence of this the opposition of the Lords was suddenly withdrawn, the Waverers declaring that they had been duped and cheated. The Bill passed in June, only twenty-two peers voting against it. The amendments of the Lords were shortly afterwards accepted by the Commons, and the Bill became law. The king refused to give his consent in person, but it was given by commission amid the silence of deep emotion. Parliament was shortly afterwards dissolved, that a new House of Commons might be elected under the new Act.

CHAPTER XII

RESULTS OF THE REFORM BILL.

1. THE Reform Bill has not belied the prophecies of those who opposed it. It was a great revolution, as momentous though not so violent as the revolutions of France in 1789, and of England in 1688. Its consequences are still in the future. But although the change it brought was as complete as was predicted of it, its effects have been far from disastrous. It brought about by gradual and silent means the reforms which are

necessary to harmonise progress with stability, and new ideas with old traditions. It took a large step towards admitting the whole nation to the labours of government, and allowed the national life to flow in a fuller tide.

2 A spirit of moderation governed the elections. The attention of the new House of Commons, which met in January 1833, was first directed to Ireland. New Parlia-
ment. Riots and disturbances rendered it necessary to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. When this had been done, it was possible to consider the wrongs of Ireland. The first act of the government was to remedy the abuses of the Irish Church. The number and salaries of the higher clergy were reduced, and an attempt made to diminish the injustice of the tithe, which often had to be collected at the point of the bayonet.

3 Retrenchment and financial reforms next claimed attention. Ministers felt bound to redeem their promises on the one hand, and to resist their extreme Slavery
abolished supporters on the other. The Government of India lost the exclusive right of trading, but their charter was renewed in other respects to their satisfaction. But by far the most important measure was the abolition of slavery in the British Empire. The victory so long striven for by Wilberforce, Stephen, and Clarkson was at last gained. The slaves were set free, at a great loss of property to their owners. Some attempt was made to alleviate the condition of factory-workmen at home, and a large grant was given for education. Such efforts are only possible when the feeling of the people is at a high pitch.

4 Parliament met for its Second Session in February 1834. It had first to deal with the affairs of Ireland. Some liberals wished to diminish still further Second
Session the revenues of the Irish Church. O'Connell opposed any measure of political coercion. At last, worn out with anxiety and vexation, Lord Grey retired from a

position which had long been wearisome to him Lord Melbourne took his place, and the rest of the ministry continued unchanged

5 The force with which ministers had met a reformed Parliament was exhausted Attempts to give effect to the rest of the measures which had been promised ended in failure Neither the Irish tithes nor the English poor rates could be placed on a satisfactory footing The one success was the passing of the Bill to amend the poor law By this act the law of settlement by which paupers were removed to the parish of their birth was abolished, workhouses were erected throughout the country, outdoor relief was greatly diminished, and the results were shown in a falling of rates, a rise of wages, and a rapid spread of happiness and contentment

6 The popularity of the ministry was gone, but its fall was sudden The King, after a hasty declaration in favour of the Irish Church, intimated to his ministers that they should resign Sir Robert Peel, who was in Rome, was sent for in haste In the meantime the Duke of Wellington held nearly all the offices of Government in his own hands A new ministry was formed, and Parliament was dissolved to ascertain the feeling of the country, in December 1834

CHAPTER XIII

SIR R. PEEL'S FIRST MINISTRY

SIR ROBERT PEEL took office under a strong sense of duty but with little hope of success In his address to his constituents he tried to win the confidence of the country by declaring a certain sympathy with Liberal measures

But though the country might trust the minister, it could not trust those with whom he worked. A parliament was returned which made it impossible that he should remain long in office. The new Parliament still contained a majority of Whigs, although many seats, especially in the counties, had been won by the Tories. These old party names were now giving way to the terms ^{The new} Liberal and Conservative. ^{Parliament.} Ministers were in a minority from the first, they were beaten in the election of speaker, and beaten on the address. Parliament was only restrained by fear of a dissolution. Sir R. Peel inaugurated several measures of the wisest character which were afterwards adopted by the opposition. He established an ecclesiastical commission, to equalise the income of the clergy, he tried to regulate the collection of tithes and the marriage of dissenters, he was beaten in detail, but his enemies shrank from proposing a vote of want of confidence.

2 At last an issue was found in the question of the Irish Church, and the appropriation of some of its revenues to secular purposes. The ministry found itself ^{Ministry} in a minority of thirty-three, and soon after ^{falls} resigned. The king was compelled to recall Lord Melbourne, and the old ministry was restored with the exception of Lord Brougham. An attempt to force a Tory government on the nation by the authority of the sovereign thus signally failed. William IV. is more to be blamed for trying it than the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel for supporting their sovereign.

CHAPTER XIV

THE KINGS LAST YEARS

1 Two great problems lay before the ministry, the reform of municipalities, and the reform of the Irish Church

Municipal reform. The government of boroughs, once the home of liberty and the training ground for political practice, had come to be as full of abuses as the representation of the country. Some town councils consisted of a great noble, the members of his family, and his chief man of business, and their sole function was to elect members to Parliament. Early in September, 1835, a measure was passed, with the concurrence of Lords and Commons, which rendered municipal government a reality, provided for the proper election of aldermen, abolished the unreasonable privileges of freemen, a class of men who by the accident of birth were invested with the government of the towns, and struck off the fetters from many industries. This measure completed and extended the work of the Reform Bill.

2 The grievances of Ireland still continued. During the last fifty years a number of political societies called

Ireland Orange Lodges had sprung up in the province of Ulster. Their object was to support the cause of Protestantism against the ribbon men, who were Catholics. The attempt to diminish the revenues of the Irish Church favoured the extension of these lodges. They spread throughout Ireland, England, and the colonies. Their members reached the number of 300,000, and the Duke of Cumberland, the king's brother, was placed at their head with almost despotic power. They were considered a menace to the peace of the kingdom and were quietly dissolved in 1836.

3 Opportunity was taken for carrying a number of

domestic reforms A uniform registration of births, deaths, and marriages was ordered throughout the kingdom, the revenues of bishops and canons were equalised in pursuance of the report of the Ecclesiastical Commission, the tax on newspapers was reduced to a penny in spite of the opposition of the Tories, who preferred cheap soap to a cheap press

4. The power of the Ministry did not last much longer Deserted by some old allies, they failed to carry measures of further improvement Discredited by repeated defeats, they would have resigned if it had not been for the illness and death of the king This took place in June, 1837 William IV was honest and conscientious His reign witnessed a great revolution in the Reform Bill, and a strong impulse to commerce by the extension of railways and growth of steamships With good reason his statue adorns the passage of the Houses of Parliament as representing a time when the national progress was unusually rapid

CHAPTER XV

THE NEW REIGN

1 NO monarch ever came to the throne more popular than Queen Victoria, the daughter of the Duke of Kent, just eighteen years old Her youth secured sympathy, her conduct soon won for her affection and respect. Consideration for her feelings kept the ministers in power, as the nation did not wish to deprive her of advisers whom she was understood to like To the joy of Englishmen Hanover was separated from the crown by passing to a male heir An outbreak in Canada threatened to become serious, and the first

measures of the new sovereign were directed to the suppression of rebellion

2 Discontent in Canada arising from disputes between the French and English Canadians had been fostered by the United States Major Head, governor of Canada, sent away the soldiers, called out the militia and loyal inhabitants, and entirely crushed the rebels He was reprimanded and recalled Lord Durham, a man of the highest character, was sent out to appease the province Nothing could be more heroic than his performance of duty, while he was slowly wasting with incurable disease and thwarted by factious opposition He failed in the object of his mission, and came home to die

3 The Ministry continued to exist on sufferance They had no power to carry measures or to support their ser-
Bedchamber vants In May, 1839, they were defeated in
question a question about Jamaica They resigned, but Sir R. Peel made it a condition of taking office that a change should be made in the ladies of the Queen's bedchamber The Queen objected, and the ministry remained in their posts, but it has since been held that the chief officers who surround the person of the sovereign are changed with a change of ministry

4 The same year saw the introduction of penny postage, the invention of Rowland Hill At this time no postage was under 2d Letters from the country
Penny post to London cost from 6d to 1s, from Scotland to Ireland 1s or 1s 6d Rowland Hill showed that the actual cost of carrying each letter was very small, and that if a stimulus was given the traffic would increase enormously Experience has endorsed this, and cheap postage has been adopted by all civilised nations Postage stamps were also introduced, and franking, the privilege of sending letters free of postage reserved to members of Parliament, was abolished

CHAPTER XVI

THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE

1 STATESMEN had long been occupied with the question of the queen's marriage, none more so than the king of the Belgians, uncle of the Queen, himself the widower of a princess who was heiress to the English throne. Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the Queen's first cousin, had been silently educated for his destinies. The marriage, which took place in Feb. 1840, was happily one of love. The prince's virtues formed the real foundation of the prosperity of the reign, and it will be recognised by posterity that his many-sided culture and intellectual activity have left an indelible stamp on the minds and character of Englishmen. The best results of German thought were transfused into English manliness, an effect which the union with Hanover had never been able to accomplish.

2 The government regained some little strength by its activity in crushing the attempt of Egypt to revolt from the Porte. But they were not able to pass measures of importance, and the debates on the budget overthrew them. They were defeated in a measure which anticipated the repeal of the corn laws. Instead of resigning, they dissolved Parliament in June 1841. But the country ratified the judgment of the House, and after the election the Conservatives divided on the address with a majority of 91. A new ministry was formed, of which the principal members were Sir R. Peel and the Duke of Wellington.

CHAPTER XVII

AFGHANISTAN

1 THE coming of the Conservatives into office was felt as the beginning of a new era. The prospect of war abroad and of distress at home gilded any change with the radiance of hope. The Queen parted with sorrow from her old advisers, but she soon learned to depend on her new servants with equal confidence. Sir R. Peel, at the outset of his ministry, found himself compelled to provide for a deficiency of revenue of two millions and a half, and to take at least some steps in the direction of free trade in corn. At this time the poor were paying a large price for their daily bread in order that the farmers of England might derive a supposed advantage of profit, while quantities of corn from the Baltic and the Black Sea were kept out of England by an unreasonable duty. The prime minister proposed an alteration of what was called the sliding scale—that is, a set of duties varying with the price of corn in the English market—his object being to maintain the price of wheat as nearly as possible at sixty shillings. A motion for the repeal of the corn laws was made by the leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League, Cobden and Villiers. It was lost by a large majority, and the government proposals were easily carried.

2 The deficiency in the revenue was made worse by the outbreak of a war in China and the possibility of troubles on the Indian frontier. Sir R. Peel determined to deal with the whole matter comprehensively, and began that series of financial reforms which, continued by his pupil, Mr. Gladstone, have done much to raise England to her present height of prosperity. The chief source of proposed revenue was the income tax, at

that time new and violently opposed, but which has since been found a powerful engine in times of difficulty. Besides this, he revised the whole tariff of imports, simplifying them wherever it was possible, and preparing the way for free trade. At this time a penny income tax produced half a million revenue, it now produces a million and a half.

3 Afghanistan, a province on the north-western frontier of India, is approached by two passes from the plains. The Khyber Pass, a long and difficult defile, ^{Disaster in} leads to Jellalabad, and the Khoord Cabul ^{Afghanistan} Pass, still longer and more difficult, bars the passage to Cabul. Afghanistan had been occupied by General Elphinstone, who, fearing for his retreat, sent General Sale to occupy the pass to Jellalabad. In the meantime he neglected the commonest precaution. The Afghans, excited by some wild rumours, rose against him, cut off his provisions, killed the British Envoy by treachery, and compelled the army to shameful capitulation. No faith was kept by the barbarians. Deprived of food, harassed by treacherous attacks, the army dwindled away to a mere handful. The women and children had at last to be surrendered to the faithless enemy, out of 16,000 men who left Cabul only one survivor reached the city of Jellalabad.

4 No insult of this kind has remained long unavenged. General Pollock marched with 8,000 men through the Khyber Pass. He joined General Sale at Jellalabad, who ^{Vengeance} had defended the city, although it was shaken with a hundred shocks of earthquake. In August 1842 the two armies moved through the pass of Khoord Cabul, where their countrymen had perished man by man. The city of Cabul was taken and given up to plunder, and the Great Bazaar was burned to the ground. Afghanistan was entirely reduced, but the English did not care to retain so useless and so costly a possession.

CHAPTER XVIII

FREE TRADE

1 THE next three years are chiefly occupied with the struggle between protection and free trade, but little progress was made with this question in the Reforms. session of 1843. The year was taken up with discussions on factory labour, on education, on church rates, with the visit of the Queen to the King of the French, and the excitement at Oxford caused by the defection of some prominent high churchmen to the Church of Rome. It was found that the financial reforms of the previous session had been a brilliant success. Instead of two millions and a half deficit, there was a million and a half surplus after all debts had been paid, and an anticipation of a still larger balance for next year.

2 The emancipation of the Catholics had not succeeded in quieting Ireland. The movement for repeal of the Union was still in full vigour, and O'Connell Ireland told a large meeting at Tara that within a year a Parliament would be sitting at College Green in Dublin. Another meeting, summoned with all the parade of military organisation, was prohibited by proclamation, and prevented by O'Connell. He was, nevertheless, tried for sedition and condemned by a Protestant jury to imprisonment and fine. The judgment was reversed after a tempestuous scene in the House of Lords, and the acquittal of the great agitator was received with joy throughout Ireland. Little more was heard of O'Connell. He was now grown old and weary, and his followers knew that they would be treated in future with severity or mercy, as they deserved it. In the next year the Government did an act of justice by endowing the Catholic College of Maynooth.

3 In the meantime events were rapidly moving towards free trade Sir R Peel, assisted by Mr Gladstone, went on with his financial reforms He proposed to use the surplus produced by the Free Trade income tax in reducing the taxes on commodities A great change was proposed in the sugar duties, wise in the main, but disfigured by traces of protection The agricultural distress of the year gave the free traders an opportunity of enforcing their views, whilst a new party of young England, led by Mr Disraeli and Lord John Manners, thought that the landed interests were too heavily taxed already, and ought to be relieved

4 The Session of 1845 closed quietly enough The increased Mynooth Grant had been passed, the Jews admitted to municipal offices, the Oregon dispute with the United States arranged, New Potato Disease Zealand pacified Suddenly an unexpected crisis arose A disease which entirely destroyed the potato plant appeared first in England and then in Ireland The whole subsistence of the Irish peasantry was destroyed Pressure was put upon the Ministry to admit foreign corn free of duty The country was deluged with the free trade tracts of the Anti-Corn Law League Sir R Peel was convinced that protection was no longer tenable, but his Cabinet would not follow him Lord Stanley resigned, and the Ministry broke up Lord J Russell was unable to form a cabinet, and Sir R Peel was induced to take office again It was known that he would meet Parliament in 1846, pledged to support the cause of free trade

5 The agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws began in Manchester towards the end of 1836 In a season of distress it appeared to some of the most influential members of this rising town that the Anti Corn Law League only remedy lay in free trade, and that by artificially keeping up the price of corn the manufacturing interests

of the country were sacrificed to the agricultural interests. Three years later the Anti-Corn Law League was formed. Its most prominent members from the first were Mr Cobden and Mr Bright, who sacrificed their worldly prosperity in a great measure to the work of converting their countrymen to the principles of true economy. Very large sums of money were collected for the purposes of the League. A free trade hall was built in Manchester. In 1843 the 'Times' acknowledged that the League was a great fact, and compared it to the wooden horse by which the Greeks were secretly brought within the walls of Troy. At the end of 1845 it was stronger than ever in men, money, and enthusiasm.

5 On the assembling of Parliament in 1846, the Queen's speech and the address in reply to it indicated the coming change. Sir R. Peel rose immediately afterwards, and honestly confessed his alteration of opinion. He had observed, he said, during the last three years (1) that wages do not vary with the price of food, and that with high prices you do not necessarily have high wages, (2) that employment, high prices, and abundance contribute directly to the diminution of crime, (3) that by the gradual removal of protection, industry had been promoted, crime had been diminished, and morality improved. Sir R. Peel was followed by Mr Disraeli, who, expressing the passion of the protectionist country gentlemen, violently assailed the minister. In February Sir R. Peel announced a fixed duty on corn for three years, and afterwards its entire abolition. The free traders attempted to dispense with this delay, but they were beaten by a large majority, and the bill passed easily. The Duke of Wellington secured its acceptance in the House of Lords. He had become wiser since the Reform Bill, and his conduct on this occasion compensated for the errors of his previous career.

6 The protectionists determined on their revenge

A Bill for the suppression of crime in Ireland gave the opportunity Lord George Bentinck assailed the Ministers with violence, and they were ^{Ministers resign} defeated by a majority of seventy-three on the very evening that the Corn Bill passed the House of Lords. The Whigs who had assisted Sir R. Peel in carrying free trade now joined the Protectionists in turning him out. Ministers had nothing left them but to resign, and Lord John Russell was ordered to form a cabinet. The new ministry did not do much in the session of 1847. They were obliged to propose a second time the measure for the pacification of Ireland which had brought about the defeat of their opponents. A bill for shortening the hours of labour in factories passed without difficulty. This year was also marked by the death of O'Connell at Genoa, on his way to Rome, and by the voluntary dissolution of the Anti-Corn Law League.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CHARTER

I ALTHOUGH no great question was before the nation, Parliament had been dissolved. The result of the new elections was a slight increase of strength to the Government. It was proceeding to con- ^{Discontent.} sider simple measures of practical reform, when a new and unexpected danger demanded its attention. A revolution which broke out in France in 1848 overthrew the monarchy of Louis Philippe, and established a republic in its place. The contagion spread throughout Europe. In every country thrones were tottering, and England was not exempt from the general disorder. The discontent of the Irish increased, and Smith O'Brien took the place

of O'Connell In England the excitement was shown by the agitation of the Chartists

2 The Chartists derived their name from the sketch of a new Reform Bill, which had obtained the title of the People's Charter It contained six principal points 1 Universal suffrage 2 Annual parliaments 3 Vote by ballot 4 Abolition of property qualification for members of parliament 5 The payment of members 6 Equal electoral districts This had been finally drawn up in 1838, but for many years the agitation for it was obscured by other matters In 1839 a petition containing a million and a quarter names was presented to Parliament In 1840 an attack made by the Chartists on Newport was crushed by the firmness of the mayor In 1847 the Chartists put out their full strength and gained several seats in Parliament, and especially the election of their leader Feargus O'Connor for Nottingham

3 Inspired by their successes, the Chartists determined to hold a monster meeting on the tenth of April on Kennington Common, from this place they were April 10 to march and present a huge petition to the House of Commons They even talked of imitating France in the establishment of a republic The Government determined to prevent the march Soldiers were posted in all parts of London by the Duke of Wellington, 170,000 special constables were sworn in, the public offices, the bank and post office were armed to the teeth All their designs ended in failure The meeting was far smaller than had been expected, the march was given up, and the petition of five million and a half of names was found to contain only a third of this number, and those mainly fictitious The movement could not survive the ridicule of exposure

CHAPTER XX

THE GREAT EXHIBITION

1 THE chief subjects of discontent which existed when our period opened had now been removed. The disabilities of Catholics had been taken away, Progress the corn laws had been repealed, the Irish had been pacified, rebellion in England had been crushed. The country entered upon a career of peaceful progress. In 1849 the navigation laws, which had been passed by Cromwell's Government in 1651, and which had first transferred the carrying trade from Holland to this country, were repealed. This was a legitimate extension of the principles of free trade.

2 At this time a dispute arose in an ecclesiastical question which was a forerunner of many similar discussions in later years. Mr Gorham had been presented The Gorham Case. to a living in the diocese of Exeter. The bishop took the unusual course of examining his opinions, and refused to institute him because he was unsound on the question of baptismal regeneration. The Court of Arches, a court reserved for the trial of ecclesiastical matters, supported the bishop, but its decision was reversed by the judicial committee of the Privy Council, a lay court of appeal which had lately received power of revising the judgments of the ecclesiastical courts. The low church party was rejoiced at the freedom allowed it, the high church party, which had recently been strengthened by a movement to increase its power begun at Oxford, was angry first at the slight thrown on an important doctrine, and secondly that the law should ultimately decide on church matters. However a Bill introduced to alter the constitution of the court was rejected by the House of Commons. To this year 1850 also belongs the

commencement of an attempt to make the universities more useful to the whole nation by the appointment of a royal commission. Party spirit was hushed for a time by the death of Sir Robert Peel.

3 Some slight excitement was caused by the appointment by the Pope of Roman Catholic bishops, under an Archbishop of Westminster, and the division of England into dioceses. It produced however much less effect than was anticipated. All thoughts were concentrated on the Great Exhibition, to be held in Hyde Park in 1851. The design and execution were entirely the work of Prince Albert. A building of a new kind, made of glass and iron, was invented as if for the very purpose. It contained the industrial products of all nations, and it was hoped that peaceful competition had rendered the horrors of war for ever impossible. The enterprise was a brilliant success, it fulfilled the hopes of its projectors, and the profits wisely invested have been a means of promoting art and culture throughout England.

4. As if in mockery of human designs, this hope of peace was succeeded by a destructive war. Louis Napoleon, nephew of the Great Emperor, President of the French Republic since 1848, had just made himself Emperor of the French. It was feared that a military power so near to us might drag us into an unwise policy. Lord John Russell was succeeded as minister by Lord Derby. But a dissolution of Parliament brought back the old ministry with Lord Aberdeen at its head, and Mr Gladstone as Chancellor of Exchequer. His budget inaugurated a new series of financial reforms. He formed a plan of reducing the national debt, while he retained the income tax in order to make it easier to tax more equally the chief articles of daily consumption.

5. A dispute had arisen between Russia and Turkey, ostensibly about the guardianship of the Holy Places in

Jerusalem, but the root of the quarrel lay far deeper. Turkey, a decaying power, had become more and more unfit to govern Christians. Russia ^{War} was deeply interested in protecting the Slavonic races under the Turkish rule who were of the same blood and origin as herself, she wished also to extend her power to the Dardanelles. If great calmness had been shown on both sides peace might have been preserved. But the Russian Emperor Nicholas was violent and impetuous, our ambassador at Constantinople was a sworn enemy of Russia. A war was necessary to the Emperor of the French for the consolidation of his throne. The spirit of both nations was gradually roused. The Russians entered the Danubian principalities, and burned the Turkish fleet at Sinope. Lord Aberdeen strained every nerve for peace. Lord Palmerston, the home secretary, threatened to resign unless strong measures were adopted. The country approached nearer and nearer to the brink of war. The attitude of England in 1853 was not the same as it had been in 1827. Then she took part with Russia against Turkey in order to restrain her in the vehemence of victory, now she allied herself with Turkey to stop the advance of Russia. The one policy established the independence of Greece, the other, although it crippled Russia for a time, could only delay for a season the inevitable break-up of the Ottoman Empire.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CRIMEAN WAR

I IN November, 1853, the Emperor of Russia declared war against Turkey. To the surprise of Europe, the Turks ^{Outbreak of War} at first held their own against the invader. The Russians were repulsed from every point of

attack along the Danube, and the Emperor became more exasperated at the failure of his arms. The Emperor of the French attempted in vain to mediate. At last a message was sent by England that unless the Russian troops were withdrawn across the Pruth before the end of April 1854, it would be considered that war had been declared. To this the Czar made no reply, and the war began its course.

2 The plan of operations was very simple. Russia could only be attacked in her extremities, and England could only act on a sea base. A fleet was sent into the Crimea Baltic with high expectations of success, which were not realised, and a large force of English and French troops were despatched into the Black Sea with the object of taking Sebastopol, a powerful fortress which the Russians had recently constructed at great expense. In September the allies landed at Lupatoria, in the Crimea, and six days later completely defeated the Russians at the Battle of the Alma. It might have been possible to attack Sebastopol with success from the northern side but it was thought more prudent to besiege it from the south, and the batteries opened fire in October. The Battle of Balaklava fought on October 25 was signalised by a charge of six hundred light cavalry, in which nearly half were killed or wounded. In November was fought the Battle of Inkerman, in which an attempt to surprise the British army was defeated by the steadiness of the guards. The winter tried the army severely, and the want of supplies and hospitals roused indignation at home.

3 Discontent ripened into suspicion. Mr Roebuck proposed an inquiry into the conduct of the Ministry. Change of Ministry Unable to meet it, the cabinet of Lord Aberdeen resigned, and, after a short delay, Lord Palmerston formed a Government not very different from the previous one. It soon lost the services of

Mr Gladstone and two others, but it was able to carry on the war with undiminished vigour. The death of the Czar in March gave only a slight hope of peace. In April the siege was reopened, and continued with varying success. On June 18, the anniversary of Waterloo, the allies were repulsed in an attack upon the Redan and Malakhoff batteries, and at the end of the month Lord Raglan, the commander-in-chief, died. At last, after a month's incessant bombardment, an attack was made on the fortifications in September. The result was that the Russians evacuated the town, blowing up their forts, and leaving their wounded behind them.

4 Before the end of the year negotiations for peace were begun by the help of Austria. The French were more anxious for a settlement than the English. The points most difficult for Russia to Peace. accept were the limitation of her power in the Black Sea and the cession of a portion of Bessarabia to Roumania. These points were at last arranged, and the Treaty of Paris was signed in March 1856. Thus ended a war which crippled the power of Russia for twenty years, and delayed for a time the inevitable fate of Turkey.

CHAPTER XXII

INDIAN MUTINY

1 THE rest of the year 1856 passed quietly, but in the spring of 1857 the Government were defeated on a motion of Mr Cobden's condemning their China War action with regard to a war which had broken out in China. Ministers determined to dissolve Parliament rather than to resign, and the issue placed before the country was that of confidence in Lord Palmerston.

In the election Cobden and Bright were rejected as members of the peace party. The liberal cause on the whole was supported by a triumphant majority.

2 The elections were closely followed by a terrible calamity in India. A wide spread rebellion of the native soldiers had broken out in the country, accompanied by atrocities such as English men and women had never suffered before. The pretext for the revolt was the dislike of the Indian native soldiers to the use of greased cartridges which might contain the fat of cows or pigs, animals which their religion teaches them may not be eaten. This rebellion may have been connected with the Russian war, but it was certainly stimulated by the withdrawal of troops for China. The mutiny first broke out at Barrackpore, it then appeared at Lucknow and Meerut. Delhi, the ancient capital, was seized by the rebels, and the native king was placed on the throne of his ancestors. The whole of Northern India was in disturbance. Sir Henry Lawrence, with the English garrison, was a prisoner at Lucknow in Oude. The treachery of Nana Sahib decoyed the garrison of Cawnpore to their destruction. The wives and children whom they had left behind were slaughtered by native butchers and thrown into a well.

3 The Government strained every effort to recover the country. Delhi was taken by Wilson, Cawnpore was relieved by Havelock—too late, however, to save his countrywomen from murder. A conqueror in twelve battles, he entered Lucknow in time to prevent a similar calamity. He died in the hour of victory. A black cloud of mutineers retook Cawnpore, and threatened Lucknow, but they were entirely defeated in the field by Sir Colin Campbell. At the close of 1857 the great dependency was again almost at peace, and in June 1858, the work was completed by the capture of Gwalior.

4. Great as was the provocation, it may be doubted whether too wild and passionate a vengeance was not inflicted on the mutineers. Many of them were blown from guns, a death peculiarly horrible in their eyes. Our country received a severe lesson from the shock of this calamity. Among its principal effects were the transference of the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, and the awakening of Englishmen to a deeper interest in Indian affairs. Results.

CHAPTER XXIII

LORD DERBY

1. **ALTHOUGH** the French alliance was popular throughout the country, it was not so with the personal character of the French Emperor. Men felt that they did not understand and could not trust him, Change of Ministry and it weakened the position of the Prime Minister that he was believed to be the Emperor's intimate friend. An unexpected occurrence made this suddenly manifest. An attack made by Italian refugees on the life of the Emperor Napoleon in January 1858 was the occasion of a demand from the French Government that we should cease to offer facilities for the conspiracies of political exiles. Lord Palmerston, in deference to this request, proposed to alter the English law of conspiracy to murder. When this was rejected by a majority of 19, he immediately resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Derby at the head of a Conservative Ministry. The year was occupied by various internal reforms: the choice of Indian civil servants by competitive examination was extended, the Thames was purified, a telegraphic cable was laid between England and America. It appeared that the question of Parliamentary Reform, which had been

stopped by the war, but had never sunk into oblivion, had now to be faced, and Lord Derby and Mr Disraeli braced themselves to deal with a problem which they acknowledged to be unwelcome

2 The Reform Bill introduced by Mr Disraeli was not satisfactory It gave the franchise to a number of different classes without resting it on any broad
 New Parliament or comprehensive basis A resolution proposed by Lord John Russell which expressed this feeling was carried against the Government by a majority of 39 Ministers determined to dissolve The issue before the country was not entirely of a domestic character War had broken out between France and Austria for the liberation of Italy, and the feeling of England was strongly with Italian Unity The liberals, who were known to have this cause at heart, were returned in a majority of 50, and immediately after Parliament met Ministers were compelled to resign, defeated in a vote of confidence This was the sixth change of ministry which had taken place in fifteen years

CHAPTER XXIV

LORD PALMERSTON

1 LORD PALMERSTON now became Prime Minister, with
 Reform Bill Lord J Russell as Foreign Secretary, Mr Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Granville President of the Council (June 1859) The first step of the Government was the conclusion of a commercial treaty with France, based on principles of free trade Mr Cobden had been the negotiator, and Mr Gladstone, in a speech which announced a new era of financial policy, expressed the long services of the free

trader in language of universally accepted praise The Ministry attempted to satisfy the expectations of the country by bringing forward a Reform Bill It was as simple as its forerunner had been complicated It proposed a franchise of £10 in counties, £6 in boroughs, and a redistribution of seats The languid interest felt in it by the Premier was a sign of the indifference of the country, and the Bill was withdrawn

2 In 1861 a civil war broke out in America between the Northern and Southern States The matters in dispute between them were many and various, but ^{American} the most important point at issue was the ^{War} question of slavery The English people generally took the side of the South, partly from a supposed community of feeling and partly from a jealousy of America, and a wish to see her dismembered This feeling was intensified by the capture of two Southern envoys while under the protection of the British flag There was danger of war breaking out, but the Northern States submitted to an ultimatum, and returned the prisoners

3 The affair of the 'Trent,' as this dispute was called from the name of the ship in which the envoys were sailing, was the last public question in which Prince Albert, now for some time since called the ^{Death of} Prince Consort, was engaged After a few ^{the Prince Consort.} days' illness, he died at Windsor in December 1861, at the age of forty-two The grief of the English nation was universal and spontaneous Only gradually did the country come to learn that he had been king of England for twenty years, while no one knew it

4 The American war affected England in two ways First, the ordinary supply of cotton to our manufacturing districts was cut off, and a great distress was felt in Lancashire, which was known by the ^{Cotton} name of the cotton famine The operatives ^{Famine and} ^{'Alabama}

displayed the utmost patience and self-control under their afflictions, and large subscriptions were contributed for their support. Lord Derby gave the services of his genius to the organisation of relief, and cotton, the threads of which were of a shorter length, was provided from India. Before the American war was over the worst pressure of distress had passed. The other trouble was of longer duration. A ship called the 'Alabama' was fitted out from an English dockyard, notwithstanding the protest of the American Ambassador, with the object of making war on American commerce in the interests of the Southern States. The Americans felt that the negligence shown in not stopping this vessel expressed only too clearly the sympathies of England. They could not at this time do anything to prevent or to avenge the wrong, but when the war was over a feeling of bitterness was left, which nearly led to an open rupture, and was with difficulty appeased.

5 Lord Palmerston died in October 1865. The condition of parties during these closing years was remarkable. Popular throughout the country, the Premier *Repose.* was trusted equally by Conservatives and Liberals. The policy of a long life was the earnest of his liberalism, and, at the same time, he was known to be opposed to organic reform. The great questions which were agitated in later years now slumbered, and the reform of the representation, which lay at the root of all other measures, was deferred with the admonition that the nation should rest and be thankful for what it had already achieved. A new election in the spring of 1865 returned a solid Liberal majority with a few Liberal losses. No loss, however, was so great as the premature death of Richard Cobden.

6 Earl Russell succeeded Lord Palmerston as Premier. Mr Gladstone became leader of the House of

Commons, the ministry in other respects remained unchanged. The history of this administration is the history of the Liberal Reform Bill. The Bill introduced by Mr Gladstone in March 1866 gave the franchise to householders of the value of £14 in counties and £7 in boroughs. It was evidently a compromise, and was not heartily supported either by the cabinet or by the party. A section of the Liberals, called by Mr Bright the 'Cave of Adullam,' joined the opposition in resisting it, and in June the ministry were defeated and resigned. They were succeeded by a Conservative Government, the principal members of which were Lord Derby and Mr Disraeli.

Earl Russell
Prime
Minister

CHAPTER XXV

MR. DISRAELI

1 LORD DERBY promised a safe and moderate measure of reform. But the agitation throughout the country was very great. The war in Germany, which in six weeks made Prussia instead of Austria the dominant power in that country, passed almost unheeded. The somewhat cruel suppression of a rebellion in Jamaica by Governor Eyre was condemned by advanced Liberals. The laying of a telegraph cable between Ireland and Newfoundland gave hope to those who wished for a union of affection between two mighty continents. But the desire for reform was unmistakable. In July the Reform League was forbidden to hold a meeting in Hyde Park, but the masses who had accompanied them threw down the railings and pushed back the police who would have barred their passage. The reform addresses of Gladstone and Bright were received with enthusiasm.

Reform
Agitation

2 At the beginning of the session of 1867, Mr Disraeli proposed resolutions which were to be the basis of a reform bill. A considerable extension of the franchise was contemplated, limited by a system of plurality of votes. Parliament objected to this method, and it became necessary for Ministers to agree in a definite measure, of two alternative courses the more liberal was adopted, but Lord Carnarvon, Lord Cranbourne, and General Peel could not accede to it, and left the Ministry. Mr Disraeli expounded his measure in March. The proposed franchise was founded on rating and not on rental. The franchise in boroughs was given to all householders paying rates, in counties it was given to occupiers of property rated at £15 a year. Besides this, the franchise was given to all men of a certain education, or who had saved a certain sum of money. In some cases voters were allowed a double vote in respect of possessing a double qualification.

3 The Bill was violently opposed by Mr Gladstone, who objected to its provisions in almost every particular, but the section of his party, who formed the 'Cave of Adullam,' declined to follow him in procuring the defeat of the Government. Notwithstanding this, the measure was gradually changed piece by piece until it was entirely altered. The abolition of compound householders, that is, of those whose rates were paid for them in the lump by their landlords, nearly quadrupled the number of voters, lodgers were admitted to the franchise, the county franchise was reduced, and the distribution of seats was changed. The Bill, as it was passed by both Houses weary with argument at the end of July, almost reached the limit of manhood suffrage. It had been passed by a Conservative Ministry, and Lord Derby described it as a leap in the dark.

Peform Bill
introduced.

Amendments
in Com-
mittee.

4. It was necessary that Parliament should meet again in the autumn of 1867 to vote supplies for an expedition to Abyssinia, undertaken to release some Englishmen who were kept in prison by the king. The prisoners were released, and Magdala, the king's capital, destroyed. Early in the session of 1868 Lord Derby resigned the Premiership from bad health, and was succeeded by Mr Disraeli. It soon became obvious that the main point of struggle between the two parties would be the disestablishment of the Irish Church. At the end of March, Mr Gladstone moved resolutions to that effect. The Government had been defeated by small majorities before the Easter recess. In April it was beaten on the Irish Church question by a majority of eighty-five. Parliament was dissolved, and the result of the elections was a signal victory for the Liberals. The Government did not wait for the opening of the session, but resigned their offices, and just before the close of 1868 Mr Gladstone became Prime Minister.

CHAPTER XXVI

IRISH CHURCH AND LAND

1. IT is natural that in England constitutional changes should be followed by great activity in administrative reform. The ministries which succeeded the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867 carried a number of measures which could only be carried when the tide of public spirit was in the flood. Both ministries soon exhausted the popularity which had enabled these measures to be passed. The chief members of Mr Gladstone's cabinet were Lord Hatherley, Mr Lowe, Mr Bruce, Lord Granville, Mr Bright, and Mr

Return of the
Liberals.

Disestablish-
ment of Irish
Church

Childers During its five years' tenure of office it showed a great activity in every branch of administrative reform. This could only be maintained by a large majority in Parliament, directed by a chief of exceptional ability, at a time when the feeling of the country was wrought to an unusual strain. The first efforts of the Government were directed to the removal of Irish grievances by the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the regulation of Irish land. The country had determined by the elections that the Irish branch of the Church of England should cease to exist under State protection. The working out of that change was difficult and complicated. The arrangements proposed by Mr Gladstone were passed by large majorities in the House of Commons, and met with no serious opposition in the House of Lords. Experience has shown the wisdom of the measure, and the large surplus resulting from it still remains to be applied to the material benefit of the country.

2 The Irish Land Act passed in the session of 1870 was a matter of greater difficulty. Its object was to give such security to the tenant as might induce him to spend money in improving his holding, to lend money to landlords to be spent in improvements, to put a restraint on hasty and unjust evictions, and to establish a ready means of arbitration between landlord and tenant. The Bill, though full of complicated provisions, met with little opposition in either House, and became law on the 1st of August.

3 The same session was occupied with another measure of first-rate importance. Mr W E Forster produced a comprehensive Education Act to deal with primary education, that namely, of the poorer classes. Time was given for different religious denominations to supply deficiencies in existing schools, but if that were not done school boards were to be created, who

should provide at the cost of the ratepayer a cheap, universal, and unsectarian education. The result has surpassed the most sanguine hopes. Every year since the passing of the Act the number of ignorant children has diminished. A great lift has been given to the educational system of the country, universities and public schools have undergone revision, and the country now only waits for the organised instruction of the middle classes.

CHAPTER XXVII

WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY

1 THIS peaceful progress at home was not without violent contrast abroad. Since the defeat of Austria in 1866 a strong jealousy had existed between France and Prussia. War broke out suddenly in July 1870. The successes of the Germans were rapid and unexpected. The French army was driven back from the Rhine, it was cut into two parts by a series of bloody battles, Marshal Bazaine was shut up with a large army in Metz, the Emperor was driven into the Ardennes. Here he was surrounded by the consummate skill of Moltke, and forced to surrender at Sedan on September 1. On receipt of the news, the Empire was abolished. In Paris, the Empress and her son fled to England.

Fall of the
Emperor of
the French.

2 Paris was invested by the German army, and soon began to suffer from famine. The siege was prolonged throughout the winter. About the middle of January the success of the Germans became certain, and on January 18 King William of Prussia was saluted as German Emperor in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles. Peace was made shortly afterwards. Alsace

Peace.

and Lorraine were ceded to Germany, and an indemnity of 200 millions paid for the expenses of the war

3 The English Government had with great skill and patience preserved the neutrality of the nation This was tried most severely when the Russian Government repudiated the clauses of the Treaty of Paris referring to the Black Sea The matter was amicably arranged at a conference in London The session of 1871 was not idle Purchase in the army was abolished, the English civil service was made attainable by competition, the universities were thrown open to the whole country without regard to religious denominations, trades unions were recognised by the law, and the powers of local government were extended to country districts In the winter the Prince of Wales became seriously ill, and in the middle of December the whole country waited in suspense for tidings of life and death Before the beginning of the year he was out of danger

CHAPTER XXVIII

LIBERAL REVERSES

1 IN 1872 a system was adopted of electing Members of Parliament by ballot, or secret voting This measure had long been urged by advanced Liberals and opposed by Conservatives But the chief event of the year was the settlement of the so called 'Alabama' claims, that is, the compensation for damage done by this and other privateers in the American war In accordance with the Treaty of Washington, these matters were arranged in a conference held at Geneva, in which the chief living authorities on international law formed the tribunal The award was given against England, and a

sum of nearly four millions had to be paid to America. But friendship between the two countries was restored at this small price, and a new principle of arbitration was asserted in public affairs

2 The session of 1873 was intended by the Government to remove another Irish grievance by establishing a system of Catholic university education Irish Education
The measure had been carefully prepared by Mr Gladstone, and it was introduced with good hope of success. But it was soon found that it satisfied neither party. The Government were defeated, and the Ministry resigned. Mr Disraeli, however, refused to take office, and the seals were resumed by their former holders. A few changes were made in the Cabinet, and a Judicature Bill was passed, remodelling our whole system of judicial procedure.

3 The Government were weakened and discredited. Seat after seat was won by the Conservatives. The Liberal majority became every day smaller and less compact. At last, in the beginning Dissolution of Parliament
of 1874, Mr Gladstone determined to appeal to the country, and, to the surprise of everybody, in January Parliament was dissolved. In five years the majority of Liberal supporters had dwindled from 116 to 66. The result of the elections was a triumph for the Conservatives. The Cabinet did not wait for the meeting of Parliament. Mr Disraeli accepted office as Premier, supported by Lord Derby, Lord Salisbury, Lord Carnarvon, Sir S. Northcote, Mr Cross, and Mr Hardy. Shortly after this Mr Gladstone announced that he had retired for ever from the leadership of the Liberal party.

CHAPTER XXIX

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN EUROPE.

1 THE Session of 1874 passed quietly under the new Government. Its principal work was the Public Worship Regulation Act, introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The object of this Act was to restrain the extreme High Church clergy from using ritual which imitated the ceremonies of the Romish Church against the wishes of their parishioners. It was strongly opposed by Lord Salisbury and Mr Gladstone, but Mr Disraeli came forward in defence of it at the call of Sir William Harcourt. Experience has shown that the Act has effected less good and done less mischief than its friends and enemies expected of it. The choice of a successor to Mr Gladstone, who announced his retirement in January 1874, was not made without difficulty. The two candidates were Lord Hartington and Mr Forster. The different characters of the men offered different qualifications for the post, but Lord Hartington was eventually preferred to Mr Forster, chiefly because he could more easily make way for the return of his former leader.

2 The new Prime Minister cared more for foreign than for domestic politics. The next five years of his government were filled with events which brought home to Englishmen the imperial position of their country, but which also made them realise the burden of responsibility which attaches to it. On November 8, 1875, the Prince of Wales landed at Bombay, the first step of a royal progress through

India In the same month the Government purchased four millions worth of shares in the Suez Canal The control of the India Office over our great dependency was made more complete, and, on the resignation of Lord Northbrook, Lord Lytton was sent as Governor-General to carry out the new policy Fairly in the following year the Queen assumed the title of Empress of India, with a proviso that it should not be used in this country These events showed the presence of a new spirit in our Government, which was regarded by some with enthusiasm, by some with ridicule, by others with dismay

3 In the summer of 1875 an insurrection against Turkey broke out in the provinces of Herzegovina and Bosnia Attempts were made by the European powers to repress it, but next year the rebellion spread to Bulgaria, and was put down by the ^{Russo} ^{Turkish} War
 Turks with terrible atrocity Mr Gladstone left his retirement to denounce these horrors, and called for the expulsion of the Turkish Government from Europe, but England was not disposed to surrender her traditional policy of maintaining Turkey as a barrier against the advance of Russia to the Bosphorus Servia and Montenegro now declared war against their suzerain Lord Salisbury attended a conference at Constantinople, in which the Great Powers endeavoured to avert the coming conflict It was of no avail In June 1877 the Russian armies crossed the Danube, and, in spite of the gallant defence of Plevna by the Turks, were in January 1878 almost within sight of the towers of Santa Sophia War between England and Russia seemed imminent Mr Disraeli, now the Earl of Beaconsfield, asked for a credit of six millions, and sent the English fleet to the Dardanelles The Russians made with the Turks the Treaty of St. Stefano, which created a large Bulgaria, defined by her historic limits, with a port on the Aegean Lord

Carnarvon and Lord Derby left the Ministry. A contingent of Indian troops was summoned to Europe.

4 Prince Bismarck now interfered as a mediator. A congress was summoned at Berlin, at which England ^{Treaty of} Berlin was represented by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury. The results of the final treaty were not favourable to Turkey nor humiliating to Russia. Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were declared independent, Bulgaria was confined to the north of the Balkans, but the addition of Sophia held out the hope that the new principality might spread down the valley of the Maritza. Greece obtained little that she had desired. Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to Austria. By two previous conventions Russia recovered the part of Bessarabia which she had ceded in 1856 and the port of Batoum, while Turkey handed over the island of Cyprus to England on payment of a yearly tribute. Lord Beaconsfield on his return to England was received with acclamation, and was able to announce that he had brought back Peace with Honour.

CHAPTER XXX

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN ASIA

1 IN the far East, England and Russia advancing, one from the south, the other from the north, with the inevitable progress of civilisation against barbarism, ^{Afghan} ^{istan} had narrowed the distance between their frontiers. They were divided by the debatable land of Afghanistan, the home of a tumultuous and independent people. Should this country be absorbed by Russia or by England, or should it separate the two empires as a

neutral zone? In July 1878 a Russian ambassador arrived at Cabul, the capital, and was well received by Sher Ali, the Ameer, although the reception of an English agent had been refused the year before. For the sake of English prestige, this envoy must be withdrawn or an English embassy admitted. In August, Sir Neville Chamberlain, with the following of a thousand men, demanded entrance at the Khyber Pass. It was refused, and he returned to Peshawur. The English Government replied that unless their ambassador was received before November 21 Afghanistan would be occupied in force. Submission came too late. The country was invaded by three columns. The British troops entered Cabul, the Ameer left it, and soon afterwards died.

2 In May 1879 his successor, Yakoob Khan, signed the Treaty of Gandamak, by which the English, on payment of a yearly subsidy of 60,000*l*., received the scientific frontier which the new policy ^{Cabul} demanded. Afghanistan was guaranteed from attack and the British Resident was admitted to Cabul. But the disaster of 1841 was soon repeated to a generation which had forgotten it. In September the British Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, was massacred by the populace, with sixty-eight of his attendants. Yakoob Khan escaped to India. General Roberts soon entered Cabul as an avenger, but the fiery Pathans rose in insurrection with forces four times as large as his, they forced him to retire, and he did not recover Cabul, after severe fighting, till Christmas Eve.

3 After a few more struggles the country was subdued. Our first policy was to separate Candahar, and to place it under an independent prince with an English Resident, while we sought for some chief of the ^{Peace} royal house who might be strong enough to make peace with

us Such a one was found in Abdurrhman, a direct descendant of Dost Mahomed Negotiations begun with him by Lord Lytton were completed by a new Viceroy under a changed Government The dream of a scientific frontier was given up We were content to secure a friendly ruler whom we could trust, and we restored to his crown the two priceless jewels of Candahar and Herat.

CHAPTER XXVI

SOUTH AFRICA

I THE Cape of Good Hope, first colonised by the Dutch, has been English for more than one hundred years The Dutch farmers, called Boers, have been gradually driven into the interior, and native states have grown up in the midst of the two nations The Transvaal Republic, an independent Boer state, was annexed by England in 1877 from a mistaken idea of the wishes of the inhabitants This brought us into collisions with the Zulus, a race trained to war, like the ancient Spartans, whose king, Cetewayo, had hitherto been well-disposed to the English Government Sir Bartle Frere, made Governor of the Cape in 1877, considered the existence of this nation of warriors as a standing danger to English interests On a slight dispute the country was invaded in the hope of a speedy conquest, but on January 22, 1879, Lord Chelmsford's camp at Isandhlana was surprised by a force of twenty five thousand Zulus and utterly destroyed, a disaster only partially retrieved by the gallant defence of Rorke's Drift by Chard and Bromhead Reinforcements were hurried up from England, Ceylon, and St Helena Naked savages, however

brave and well-trained, could not contend against disciplined troops, still the struggle was severe, and it was not until the end of August that Cetewayo was captured. Prince Louis, son of Napoleon III, who had been reluctantly allowed to join the army, was killed in a reconnaissance by a handful of Zulus.

2 The battle of Ulundi, which put an end to the Zulu war, had been won by Lord Chelmsford, but he had already been superseded by Sir Garnet Wolseley. ^{Ireland} The new general put down the native chiefs Mosi and Sikuni, but he could not persuade the Boers of the Transvaal to submit. The cost of these wars made the Government unpopular. Imperial policy had been nowhere a success. Its brilliancy did not compensate for its burdens. A series of bad harvests had made money scarce. Attacks on foreign policy were coupled with demands for an extended suffrage. The popularity of the Government was on the wane. The distress fell with a special heaviness on Ireland, where large rents had in many cases to be paid to absentee landlords for property which the tenants had improved. A cry was raised, 'Get rid of the landlords,' and Mr Parnell founded a Land League for the purpose of buying them out. Constitutional agitation was unfortunately accompanied by dishonesty and outrage, which were met by the Government with severe methods of repression.

3 Parliament was now approaching its close, and in the autumn recess platforms resounded with the war cries of the coming fray. Mr Gladstone led the attack by standing for Midlothian, and conducted a fortnight's campaign of incessant speaking. ^{Dissolution of Parliament} The Queen opened Parliament in person on February 15, 1880. The Royal Speech told of peace in Afghanistan and South Africa, and of the success of the Treaty of Berlin. It announced no measures of impor-

tance, but the dissolution which followed in March was unexpected. In the issue before the country Lord Beaconsfield took his stand on the necessity of an imperial policy and denunciation of Home Rule. Lord Hartington put forward the stability of Liberal tradition, and Mr Gladstone vigorously foiled the policy of his rival. The elections were a surprise to both parties, but they spoke with no uncertain voice. The new Parliament contained 349 Liberals, as against 351 Conservatives in the old. The Conservative opposition was now 243, while the Liberal opposition in the late House had been 250. The numbers of the Home Rule party had risen from 51 to 60.

4 Lord Beaconsfield determined not to meet the new Parliament, and only delayed his resignation until the Queen had returned from the Continent. She first sent for Lord Hartington, as leader of the Opposition in the Commons, but on the representation of himself and Lord Granville summoned Mr Gladstone. He consented to form a Government, taking for himself the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The principal members of his former Cabinet returned with him to power. The Radical party was represented by Mr Chamberlain at the Board of Trade, Mr Fawcett at the Post Office, and Sir Charles Dilke as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Sir William Harcourt at the Home Office, Mr Mundella in charge of Education, and Mr Bright as Chancellor of the Duchy, gave a broad foundation of confidence to the new Government. The Liberals looked forward to a long career of useful legislation. The Tories calculated on the incompatibility of Liberal and Radical views to break up or paralyse the new Government.

Change of
Government

CHAPTER XXXII

FOREIGN POLICY

1 SELDOM has one Government succeeded another with a stranger contrast of principles and practice, or a wider distinction between the sources from which they drew their confidence

The foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield had been essentially of a forward, perhaps even of an aggressive, character. The party which had come into office by attacking this policy was bound to ^{Reaction} move in a different direction. Mr Gladstone inherited a legacy of complications in Eastern Europe, in Asia, and in South Africa which needed skill and patience to unravel. The changed spirit of the new Ministry was soon apparent. A declaration was elicited from Austria to the effect that she had no intention of extending her authority any farther than the Balkan peninsula. By a combined demonstration of European fleets the harbour of Dulcigno was ceded to Montenegro in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin. A similar influence was used to keep Greece at peace until she obtained all the extension of territory which she could get, but not all that she had been led to hope for.

2 In Afghanistan the battle of Maiwand was fought by 2,500 troops, of whom only 500 were British, against 12,000 of the enemy. It was followed by a disastrous retreat to Candahar, where the ^{Afghanistan and} English army was shut up until General ^{Transvaal} Roberts relieved them from Cabul. In South Africa, the Boers of the Transvaal, encouraged by the opposition of the Liberal party to their annexation, and finding the

colonists occupied with a war against the Basutos, proclaimed the revival of their Republic. Our generals underrated the strength of the Boers and their skill as marksmen, and the reverses of a short campaign culminated in the disaster of Majuba Hill on February 26, 1881. After three years' negotiation the Transvaal Republic was restored under conditions which secured the rights of the native races.

CHAPTER XXXIII

IRISH POLICY

1 A DIFFERENT policy was also adopted towards Ireland. The Queen's Speech announced that the existing Coercion Act would not be renewed. A Bill was passed in the Commons to put a stop to unjust evictions, but it was rejected by a large majority in the House of Lords. Excitement and agitation in Ireland increased. A system of 'boycotting' grew up, by which landlords and agents who violated the principles of the Land League were cut off from all communication with their fellow-men. Crimes and outrages increased. A Coercion Act was introduced, which was opposed by the Irish members with every device of obstruction. One sitting continued almost without interruption for fifty hours. The next day the whole of the Irish party was suspended from the service of the House. The Coercion Act was finally passed on March 2.

2 The Government had determined that repressive and remedial measures should proceed together, and on April 7, 1881, Mr Gladstone produced his Land Bill. It established a special court to decide upon the conflicting claims between the landlord

and tenant. It accepted what was called the principle of the 'F, F, F'—fair rent, free sale, and fixity of tenure. Before it was read a second time, Lord Beaconsfield had died after a short illness. The scope of the Bill was extended by the Irish party. It was violently attacked in the House of Lords. A collision between the two Houses was with difficulty avoided, and the Bill became law in the middle of August. The Coercion Act, however, was not to remain a dead-letter. On October 13, Mr Parnell, Mr Dillon, Mr Sexton, and other leaders of the Land League were arrested in Dublin and sent to Kilmainham Gaol. They replied by calling on the Irish people to pay no rent whilst their leaders were in prison. Secret societies began to take the place of open combination.

3 During the spring of 1882 neither branch of the Government policy towards Ireland seemed to be successful. The Lords attacked the working of the Land Act, and impeded its operation, while Mr Forster did not succeed in re-^{The} ^{Kilmainham} pressing disorder even by the full use of the Coercion Act. Up to April 18 there had been 918 arrests, and over 600 men were in prison. Mr Parnell, whilst still in Kilmainham, drafted a Bill to relieve distressed tenants of all arrears of rent up to the passing of the Land Act in 1881. It was introduced into the House, and the Government appeared to approve of the principles on which it was based. At the beginning of May the Irish members were released from prison, and at the same time Lord Cowper was succeeded as Lord-Lieutenant by Lord Spencer, while Mr Forster resigned the Irish Secretaryship. These events formed part of what is known as the 'Kilmainham Treaty,' an arrangement which provided that the Government should take steps to remit arrears and establish peasant proprietors, and

that the leaders of the Irish party should do their best to pacify the country

4 Mr Forster strongly opposed this new policy, and his arguments were enforced by a terrible catastrophe On May 6, Lord Frederick Cavendish arrived in Dublin as the new Chief Secretary Lord Frederick Cavendish In the bright summer evening, as he was walking through Phoenix Park to his new home, he was barbarously murdered, together with Mr Burke, who was his companion The assassins drove off and disappeared It was afterwards ascertained that Mr Burke was the victim aimed at, and that the murder of the Chief Secretary was unpremeditated Next morning, which was Sunday, the news fell with startling horror on the three kingdoms Mr G Trevelyan stepped gallantly into the breach A new Coercion Act was passed of extreme severity with little opposition except from the Irish members At the same time an Arrears Act was passed in the teeth of the House of Lords Little amelioration was experienced, the year closed amidst outrages and murders

5 In January 1883 twenty men were arrested in Dublin, one of whom was James Carey, recently elected to the Dublin Town Council During the trial Vengeance of the prisoners he turned Queen's evidence, and confessed that he had planned the murders in Phoenix Park and had given the signal for the crime He had also organised plans for assassinating Mr Forster, and had been the mainspring of the attack upon Mr Field Five of the prisoners were hanged, and Carey was sent by the Government to South Africa, where he was shot by a man who followed his track for vengeance There were other signs that the spirit of rebellion was not at rest Explosions of dynamite organised by American sympathisers with Ireland took place at the public

offices and at railway stations This scare continued at intervals throughout two years, and culminated with the wrecking of the House of Commons by an explosion in the beginning of 1885

CHAPTER XXXIV

EGYPT

1 EGYPT has for many years been a bone of contention between France and England The extravagance of the Khedive Ismail made it necessary to establish a system of control in order to secure the payment ^{Arabi} of his creditors The two countries undertook the task, and their authority was made more complete by the deposition of Ismail and the appointment of Tewfik as his successor But a movement towards self-government arose in the country, and a national party was formed under Ahmed Arabi, who became Pasha in 1882 The Egyptian army was devoted to him On June 10 a riot of doubtful origin broke out in Alexandria It appeared that Arabi was defying England and France, and was fortifying Alexandria, supported by the Porte The French and English fleets had been for some time anchored in the harbour, and on July 10 Sir Beauchamp Seymour demanded the surrender of all the forts The French declined to fight, and steamed away to Port Said

2 The bombardment began two days later, and continued till the afternoon For twenty-four hours the city was given up to plunder, and more than two thousand Europeans were massacred ^{Tel-el Kebir} British troops which were wanting in the first attack were now poured into Alexandria, under the command of Sir Garnet

Wolseley On September 13, Arabi and the Egyptian army were attacked at Tel el-Kebir and entirely defeated. Cairo was captured by a bold stroke, and Arabi was taken prisoner and sent in exile to Ceylon.

3 The victory of Tel-el-Kebir left the responsibility of managing Egypt in English hands. One of the darkest spots on the dark continent was the Soudan, which had been conquered by Mahomet Ali in 1819. It was the centre of the slave trade, and it was not till fifty years later that an attempt was made to put down the abomination. In 1881 the Soudan witnessed the appearance of the Mahdi, a prophet foretold by Mahomet, who was to restore the Mussulman religion. In the next year he defeated the Egyptian army, and in 1883 completely annihilated the forces of Hicks Pasha in Kordofan.

4 The English Government insisted upon the abandonment of the Soudan, but recognised the necessity of rescuing the Egyptian garrisons. For this purpose they sent out General Charles Gordon, a hero and a saint, who had been Governor of the Soudan from 1874 to 1879. A force was dispatched by the Egyptian Government to Suakim, on the Red Sea, to relieve the eastern garrisons and to oppose Osman Digma, the lieutenant of the Mahdi. Notwithstanding the efforts of English officers, the Arabs defeated the Egyptians at El Teb. We sent out reinforcements and relieved Tokha. We defeated Osman Digma and burnt his camp, but we shrank from opening the road to Berber on the Nile, and in April 1884 withdrew our troops.

5 At this time the anxiety felt for Gordon in Khartoum was intense. He had gone out without promise of assistance, but public opinion demanded that he should be relieved. At last, at the end of 1884, a small expedition was sent to his succour under Lord Wolseley. Disasters followed fast. Burnaby fell

at Abou Klea, and Stewart soon afterwards died of his wounds. At last Wilson, his successor, reached Gubat, on the Nile. He found four steamers sent by Gordon, and hoped soon to press his hand. The English redcoats came in sight of Khartoum on January 28, but heard that the city had fallen to the Mahdi two days before, and that Gordon had been killed. The Soudan was now abandoned, but Suakim was again occupied in force.

CHAPTER XXXV

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

1 IT remained for the Ministry to redeem a pledge which they had given on their accession to office, of reforming the representation of the people in Parliament by admitting the country labourers to the suffrage. Mr Trevelyan had year after year brought forward a motion for assimilating the franchise in counties to that in boroughs. The new Bill added to the householder and lodger franchise already existing in boroughs a service franchise in favour of persons who occupied buildings without being either the owners or the tenants. These three classes of franchise were now introduced into the counties, the standard of the occupation franchise was reduced, and faggot votes were abolished. Scotland and Ireland were placed upon the same footing as England, although with respect to the latter country the step was strongly resisted by the Conservatives. In the Lords an amendment was proposed by Lord Cairns that the Bill should not come into operation until the scheme of redistribution which was to accompany it had been agreed upon. This was

The
Franchise
Bill

accepted, and the Bill, which had been introduced on February 29, 1884, finally passed on December 5. It added about two millions of voters to the register.

2 After much discussion in the press and in the country, Mr Gladstone produced his scheme of redistribution at the end of November. It had been drawn up in concert with Lord Salisbury, and its principal features were that it disfranchised a large number of small boroughs, established an almost uniform system of one-member constituencies, and slightly increased the numbers of the House of Commons. It was read a second time the day before the Franchise Bill became law, and its further consideration was adjourned till the following year. It was discussed in detail from March to June 1885, and did not become law until the Government which had introduced it had ceased to exist. This catastrophe was the result of an accident. The wear and tear of five eventful years had produced dissensions in the Liberal party, and an amendment on the Budget proposals of Mr Childers was carried against the Government by a majority of twelve. Many Liberals were absent from the division, and thirty-nine Home Rulers voted for the Opposition. Mr Gladstone resigned office.

CONCLUSION

AT the close of our period it may be well to review the results of the policy which we have described in detail, and to compare the condition of England in 1885 with its condition at the close of the great continental war. We will consider separately—1 Her population, 2 Her wealth, 3 The state of pauperism in the two periods, 4 The state of crime, 5 The condition of trade, 6 Food, education, 7 The extent of her dominion

1 The population of Great Britain in 1811 was twelve millions, in 1885 it was twenty-nine millions and a half. At the first period she contained only nine per cent of the whole population of the great powers of Europe, France, Germany, Austria, Russia. She now contains about thirteen per cent.

2 As an indication of wealth, in 1826 the United Kingdom paid £2 9s 5d a head for taxation. In 1885 she paid £2 1s 7d. England is the only country in Europe in which the percentage of taxation in proportion to the population has diminished. The assessments to the income-tax in Great Britain in 1815 were a hundred and thirty millions, in 1885 they were six hundred and thirty-one millions and a half. In 1830 the deposits in savings banks amounted to 11s 4d per head of the population. In 1885 they amounted to £2 10s 8d per head.

3 In 1813 the amount spent in the relief of the poor was eight millions and a half, that is, a cost of 15s 2d per head of the population. In 1885 the amount spent was eight millions and a quarter, that is about 4s 6d per head, yet we spend nearly three times as much on each pauper as we did five and thirty years ago.

The percentage of paupers to the population is now slightly over two per cent, at the close of the war it was more than eight per cent

4 Crime has very largely diminished. The number of offences left undiscovered is probably much smaller than before. At the same time, the proportion of committals to the population is nearly one-half of what it was. While all kinds of serious crime have decreased, offences against property have diminished more than all

5 The value of British exports was in 1820 thirty-six millions and a half, and in 1885 two hundred and thirteen millions. Inland trade has probably increased quite as much in proportion.

This period has seen an enormous growth in the cotton and iron trades. It has witnessed the entire development of the railway system. The total receipts from railway traffic are now sixty millions a year.

6 Besides all this, the people are much better fed than they used to be, and the duration of life has probably increased.

The development of the press has done as much for popular education as the measures especially devoted to that end. In 1846 there were in the United Kingdom 551 newspapers, in 1885 there were about 1,700.

7 In 1829 the population of the English Colonies was three millions and a quarter, in 1871 it was eleven millions and a half. At the same time, during the last hundred and thirty years we have conquered two million six hundred and fifty thousand square miles of territory, and nearly two hundred and fifty millions of people.

From these facts we may conclude that the England of the present day is incomparably stronger, happier, and better than England at the time of the Regency. Also, that not only are Englishmen better fed, better taught, better governed, and more united than they were, but

that the nation is, for all purposes of offence and defence, far stronger than it was at the time when it carried on the struggle against Napoleon

These results are mainly due to the wisdom and patriotism of the statesmen who have controlled the destinies of the nation during the period we have described

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